Inscriptions of the Temples of Puri and Origin of Śrī Purusottama Jagannāth

Volume-I

Dr.S.N. Rājaguru

The Book

This work deals with some important aspects relating to the history of Lord Jagannath of Puri. Prior to this, several Indian scholars and a group of Professors of the University of Heidelberg (Germany) have attempted to solve many difficult problems concerning the cult and the iconic features of Lord Jagannath basing on the literary and epigraphic evidences available till then. Their strenuous efforts have been rightly much appreciated. But there are some lacunae in their findings as they had no access to the recently discovered inscriptions. Quite a few of the recently discovered inscriptions of Nrusimha Temple & some other temples of Puri have been clearly deciphered and critically edited in this work.

This book will offer more scope to draw a correct picture of the history of Lord Jagannath & His cult.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLES OF PURĪ
AND
ORIGIN OF ŚRĪ PURUṢOTTAMA JAGANNĀTH

Vol. - I (Part - I & II)

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Published by:-

Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya
Srivihar, Puri,Orissa

First Edition:1992.

Printed at
Kwality Press (P) Ltd.
A/67, Industrial Area
Bhubaneswar - 751 001

Price : Rs. 300 . 00

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FOREWORD

It gives me immense pleasure to present a completed research-project of this University undertaken by Dr S. N. Rājguru in the form of a published work. This is the first part of his research-findings; the second volume is under preparation and is expected to throw further light on some hitherto unknown facts of history. The research-project was, as a matter of fact, initiated by Professor B. K. Mohānty, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of this University and I am glad to note that now the first part has been completed and is being published for the benefit of all concerned. The posterity will, I am sure, remain indebted to both Dr. Rājguru for undertaking this University research project at his old age and Professor Mohānty for initiating the same. This valuable research work and its publication could be made possible because of the Hundi interest received from Sri Jagannath Temple, Purī for which I, on my behalf and on behalf of this University, express my deepest gratitude to the State Government, Law Department, and the Temple Administrator. Śhrī S. K. Dāshchoudhury, Comptroller of Finance, deserves my heartfelt thanks for his ungrudging co-operation in looking after the publication of this volume. My thanks are also due to Prof. J. K. Mishra for rendering necessary help in publication work. Above all, it was the grace of Lord Jagannath which has made all this possible, and here, where words fail ('Yato vaco nivarttante'), neither words of gratitude nor thanks would suffice.

The work is based on the study of the inscriptions discovered from three temples at Purī, viz. Nṛsiṃha, Mārkaṇḍeśwara and Pātāleśvara temples. The findings are mentioned in a nutshell by the author in his Introduction. One of the important findings, for example, is that an inscription from Nṛsiṃha temple "mentions the names of Balabhadra, Puruṣottama and Subhadrā and also the name of one Māḷākāra-Jayarāja, who was an important officer under the king Kāmārṇavadeva, the son and successor of Choḍagaṅga and held the reign of administration from 1142 A.D. "Dr. Rājguru, therefore, comes to the

conclusion that "the three deities, Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā, were adorned in the so-called Nṛsiṃha temple on or before 1142 A.D.". It is interesting to note how this finding of Dr. Rājguru differs from that of Dr. Herman Kulke who speaks of "the establishment of the present triad in 1230 A.D." in the Introduction to **Cult of Jagannāth and the Regional Tradition of Orissā** *edited by him in 1978. Dr. Rājguru points out, "It is a pity, however, that in 1978 scholars had no information regarding the inscription of Nṛsiṃha Temple which proves that the installation of the triad was accomplished long before 1230 A.D." This historical finding has been made possible because of the study of the inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha temple by Dr. Rājguru and it is only one of the examples which unerringly points to the importance of the University research-project undertaken by Dr. Rājguru.*

That Dr. Rājguru has undertaken this strenuous research work with an open mind is evident from the following statement of his in the Introduction. "Some hitherto unknown events relating to Śrī Puruṣottama's history of development in course of different periods," says Dr. Rājguru, "are included in this volume, although they are subject to revision if more evidence would come to light in future". I would consider this to be a proper scientific attitude on the part of the author which refuses to accept any finding to be absolute or final. It is mainly the critical stance which makes an author or a research worker entitled to be regarded as scientific in his approach and the above statement of Dr. Rājguru is a sufficient indication of his being scientific in approach to the historical findings including his own. In presenting this work to the learned readers and research-scholars who are interested in this field of study, I can very well anticipate that it will not only be illuminating in respect of certain areas of history hitherto unknown but it will also pave the way for further critical studies in the field. Here lies the positive value of treatises like this, according to me, and it may not be out of place to mention here that the second volume, about which the author has given some indication in his Introduction, is eagerly-awaited for giving a finishing touch, not of course to all research-work in the field but to this valuable research-project.

G. Nayak

Dated 30th March 1992

PREFACE

In 1931, during my visit to Puri in some private affairs, I met with the late Gajapati Rājā of Puri, Śrī Rāmachandra Dev, in his palace. In course of talk with him, he informed me that two broken stone slabs were discovered from a well near the temple of Goddess Vimaḷā, in the premises of Śrī-Jagannāth temple. Both the slabs contained some inscriptions which no one could read and they were kept in the palace. Then, he showed me where the stone inscriptions were kept. I had nothing then to take estampage from them but read only a few words, incised in South-Indian-Script, attributable to the 13th Century A.D. Paleographically. As the inscribed parts were not clear being broken and hidden under lime coating, it was not possible to read them except the name of Rājarāj Deva, a king of the imperial Gaṅga Dynāsty.

After some years, again I went to the Rājā's palace to prepare some estampages, but the inscribed stones were not kept there. I returned in vain. From that time onward it struck to my mind that some broken parts of a temple which contained inscriptions, within the compound of Śrī-Mandira, must have been repaired and re-plastered latter, so that they are not yet discovered.

After some years, in 1956 or 1957, I visited the Śrī-Mandira while that was undertaken, by the Department of Archaeology of the Central Government, a vital work of deplastering the main temple. Unexpectedly I noticed a few inscribed letters on a stone, fixed at the front-wall of the Nṛsiṃha temple, near 'Mukti-Maṇḍapa' The letters belonged to the North-East-Indian style of the 12th Century. At that time, I met with Śrī Suresh Chandra Mohāpātra, an Engineer, who was deputed by the Government of Orissa to watching the work for careful deplasteration. I requested him to assist me in clearing an epigraph at Nṛsiṃha-temple which he complied.

After duly cleaned, I found that a portion of the Inscription was broken. Still I could read the remaining visible portion and published it in my compilation series, entitled "Inscriptions of Orissa", 3rd Volume and Part-I, which was published by the 'Orissa Sahitya Academy' in 1960. That attracted the attention of several Scholars. After a prolonged request made through the State Government to the Director

General of Archaeological Survey of India, the deplastering work at Nṛsiṃha temple, near the Mukti-Maṇḍap, was under-taken. After completion of the work, a large number of Inscriptions have come to light. But, many epigraphs are found fragmented, the total number being Sixty-one.

At first, we could not procure any permission from the concerned Department to prepare estampage of those inscriptions, until the Chief Minister of Orissa, Śrī Jānaki Ballabha Patnāik, had taken interest in this matter.

Meanwhile, Major Śhrī Baṭakrushna Mohānty, the Ex-Vice Chancellor of Śrī-Jagannāth-Sānskrit University of Puri, had chalked out a scheme for research on the Temple and Cult of Lord Śrī-Jagannāth. I was invited to undertake the section of Epigraphy in that Project. I agreed and commenced my work at Puri from the 24th April, 1989. My hearty thank goes to Major Mohānty and the present Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Dr. Gourāṅga Charaṇ Nāyak, who have taken keen interest in giving me every possible help for my staying at Puri to prepare estampages of the Inscriptions from three temples namely Nṛsiṃha, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Pātāḷeśvara. I could have not accomplished that strenuous work like preparation of estampages if my son, Sitākānta Rājaguru, had not assisted me. I express my thanks to Dr. Surendrā Nāth Miśhra, the Ex-Registrār of Śrī-Jagannāth-Sanskrit University and the present Professor in the Department of Economics in Ravenshaw college, Sri Śiba Kumār Dāsh Choudhury, Comptroller of Finance and Dr. Braja Kiśhore Swāin, Reader in Dharmaśāstra P.G. Department of S.J.S. University, Puri, Dr. Jaya Krishṇa Miśhra, P.G. Department of Dharmaśhāstra of the same University. They rendered me necessary help at the time of need. Śrī Śarat Chandra Mohāpātra, Ex-Administrator of Jagannāth Temple, Śrī Sarveśvara Dāś, Ex-Professor of Ravenshaw College, also rendered me necessary help. I owe thanks to Śrī Sitākānta and Raghurāja, my son and grand son respectively, for their sincere help in preparation of estampages from inscriptions and typing the script placidly.

Lastly, I pray my great Lord SRI PURUṢOTTAMA for His gracious kindness to me for accomplishing in old age, this work, a humble service at His lotus-feet.

Dr. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru

Abbreviations

1. Ep. Ind., E.I.	Epigraphia Indica, Department of Archaeology, New Delhi.
2. Ind. Antiqu., I.A. -	The Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
3. H.I.L.	History of Indian Literature.
4. O.H.R.J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
5. I.O., Ins. Or.	Inscriptions of Orissa.
6. J.R.A.S.B. letters -	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Beṅgal, Letters.
7 J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of Āndhrā Historical Research Society, Rājahmundry.
8. S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
9. His. Dhar.	History of Dharmaŝhāstra.
10. J.K.H.R.S.	Journal of Kaḷiṅga Historical Research Society.

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains 27 inscriptions, discovered from the temples of Nṛsiṃha, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Pātāḷeśvara in Puri. Those inscriptions are incised in between 1113 to 1238 A.D. when the Imperial Gaṅga-Kings, from Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga upto Anaṅgabhīma-III (Seven Kings of Utkaḷa and Kaḷiṅga), have ruled the country, called 'Trikaḷiṅga'

1. CHOḌAGAṄGA DEV (1078-1147)

2. Kāmārṇavadeva (1147-1156 A.D.) 3. Rāghavadeva (1156-1170 A.D.) 4. Rājarāja (II) (1170-1190 A.D.) 5. Anaṅgabhīma - II (1190-1198 A.D.)

6. Rājarāja (III) (1198-1211 A.D.)

7 Anaṅgabhīma(III) (1211-1242 A.D.)

Before Choḍagaṅga's occupation of Utkaḷa, the socalled Nṛsiṃha-Temple was built by a Somavaṃśī-King. The *Mādaḷāpāñji* states that King Yayātikeśarī had re-installed Puruṣottama which was burried in a remote tribal village. Although the affiliation of Śuddha-Śavara-Class in the temple service was a latter affair, King Yayāti-II, who constructed the temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneśwar, might have built a temple of medium size for Puruṣottama in Puri. Long before the name of Puruṣottama was used in Utkaḷa, the Viṣṇu-Image was worshipped in the name of Mādhava. From the 7th Century on-wards, Mādhava was installed in different places of Utkaḷa, such as : Nīḷa-Mādhava of Baud-Gandharāḍi and Kaṇṭilo on the bank of Mahānadī, Loka-Mādhava in the ancient-Śvetaka in Gañjām District, Mudga-Mādhava in Puri District, Śveta-Mādhava in Puri Town etc.

Like the stone images of Mādhava, the image of Puruṣottama has also four arms, holding *Śaṅkha* (Conch), *Cakra* (disc), *Gadā* (Mace) and *Padma* (lotus).

In all the votive inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha-Temple, the deity, installed in it, was called *Puruṣottama*. We get no evidence to prove if a single image of Puruṣottama was installed in that temple by Yayāti or all the three images, Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā. Ofcourse, we get

evidence through epigraphical source that the three deities were installed in or before 1142 A.D. From Nṛsiṃha-Temple we find an inscription which mentions the names of Baḷabhadra, Puruṣottama and Subhadrā and also the name of one Māḷākāra-Jayarāja, who was an important officer under the king Kāmārṇavadeva, the son and successor of Choḍagaṅga and held the reign of administration from 1142 A.D. when his coronation ceremony *(Abhiṣeka)* as *Yuvarāja* was performed in the temple of 'Sarvalokaikanātha' (Puruṣottama). It is, therefore, clear that the three deities, Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā, were adorned in the so-called Nṛsiṃha-temple in or before 1142 A.D. A detailed study on this issue will be given in the 2nd volume. In this regard we may cite the latest opinion of Dr. Hermann Kulke who states that it was "an attempt to offer hypothesis for the development of Jagannāth Cult from its very beginning upto the establishment of the present triad in 1230 A.D." which he says was "the result of constant discussions over years and represents their latest state, but certainly not the final One" (Introduction P.XVII, *Cult of Jagannāth and the Regional Tradition of Orissā*, By Dr. Kulke). in 1978.

It is pity however, that in 1978, scholars had no information regarding the inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha temple which proves that the installation of the triad was accomplished long before 1230 A.D. in which year Anaṅgabhīma-III issued some grants on several occasions, one of which was the consecration of the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama.

The next problem is, whether the great Śrī-Mandira was completely built in the reigning period of Choḍagaṅga or completed several years after him when the three deities were removed from Nṛsiṃha Temple. We will discuss this aspect, based on some newly discovered inscriptions, to be published in the 2nd volume.

Another question is whether the stone images of the trinity were built in anthropoid form ? If so, when and under what circumstance that was made of timber instead of stone having anthropomorphized form? This important problem is dealt with in our 'Historical-Note' on hypothesis and traditional basis. The insertion of some tribal-folk in the service of Śrī-Jagannāth-Temple was also a mysterious event, which is also discussed on hypothetical base but with some reasoning.

Some hitherto unknown events, relating to Śrī-Puruṣottama's history of development in course of different period, are included in this volume, although they are subject to revision if more evidence would come to light in future.

It is necessary to give a list of our findings on the origin of Śrī Puruṣottama-Jagannāth from epigraphical sources in brief

1. The temple of Nṛsiṃha, near Mukti-Maṇḍapa, was built long before Utkaḷa was occupied by Choḍagaṅgadeva in 1112 A.D. In that temple Śrī-Puruṣottama was the principal deity in whose honour many perpetual lamps were donated. This was recorded in the stone inscriptions, attached to that temple in between 1113 and 1242 A.D. Hence, Śrī-Puruṣottama's worship in the socalled Nṛsiṃha Temple was not spurious.

2. According to the rules, stipulated in *Dharma-Śāstras,* the measurement of the height of the Nṛsiṃha temple and the deity now in it, is not befitting. Similarly, the height of Śrī-Satyanārāyaṇa image is not befitting the temple where he is now being worshipped. Hence, we may presume that Satyanārāyaṇa was removed from Nṛsiṃha Temple by Choḍagaṅga when he started construction of a new temple at the northern side of Nṛsiṃha Temple for installation of Puruṣottama.

3. Most probably, Choḍagaṅga might have installed the three deities, Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā in the Nṛsiṃha Temple which continued till Anaṅgabhīma-III who completed the *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration) of the new temple with deities in about 1230 A.D. as stated in his Nāgari-Copper Plate-grant.

4. Anaṅgabhīma's daughter, Candrikādevī, also built a temple named 'Ananta-Vāsudeva' at Bhubaneśwar to install similar three deities, Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā, in the same model of stone figures, installed by her father at Puri. Therefore, we infer that the three deities who were consecrated by Anaṅgabhīma-III, in about 1230 A.D. at Puri, must not differ from those now appearing in Ananta-Vāsudeva-Temple at Bhubaneśwar. Hence, the original deities were made of stone having anthropoid structures in Stone and possessed the traditional anthropoid form according to the *Āgama-Śāstras.*

5. After 1242 A.D., a portion of the Nṛsiṃha Temple was broken and

then repaired. We have discussed this aspect in our historical notes Most probably, a small Narasiṃha image was placed in that temple by Anaṅgabhīma-III, or his successor Narasiṃhadeva-I.

6. The earliest anthropomorphized image is seen in the outer wall of Koṇārk-Temple, which was constructed by Narasiṃhadeva-I, in the second half of the 13th Century A.D. Therefore, our presumption regarding the revised form of trinity (Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā) made of wood, was a later conception, when the Śavara-tribes were given chance to serve the deities as *Dayitā* and *Pati*.. We have hypotheticaly discussed this aspect basing on some traditional accounts, found in the "Kataka-Rāja-Vaṃśāvaḷī"

7. We have got the name of the chief architect of the great Temple of Puruṣottama about whom we will discuss in the 2nd. volume. We will also discuss regarding the time when the trinity was installed in Nṛsiṃha Temple, basing on epigraphical evidence, in the same (2nd) volume.

8. Now, the question is whether Puruṣottama's temple was built near some Śiva Temples, such as Pātāḷeśvara, Īśaneśvara etc. or elsewhere ? In this connection we like to point out that, in that age the Hari-Hara cult was popular in Utkaḷa and in surrounding area. For example, a twin temple of Loka-Mādhava (Kṛṣna) and Svayambhakeśvara(Śiva) was built by Mahārājādhirāja Indravarman of Śvetaka Gaṅga family who lived in the 9th or 10th Century A.D. Such twin temples of Hari-Hara were also built by Bhañja Kings of Gandharāḍi and Nāga Kings of Niāḷi-Mādhava in the same period. So *Yayāti Mahāśivagupta*, who, according to a popular tradition, had constructed the temple of Puruṣottama in a place where some temples of Śiva were built. From an inscription, found in the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara, we get the name of *'Koṅgaṇeśvara'* (Śiva) which was another important Śiva Temple of the 10th century or before. Presumably, Koṅganeśvara might have been the principal god of Koṅgada during the Śaiḷodvhava Kings (7th-8th centuries A.D.). At present, we get no such name of any god in Puri. He is perhaps named as Pātāḷeśvara, at the northern side of Śrī-Jagannāth-Temple. Thus, the practise of Hari-Hara worship by Yayāti was accomplished, before Śrī-Mandira was constructed.

9. If our assumption is taken into account, then the socalled Nṛsiṃha Temple must be no other than the temple of Puruṣottama who possessed four-arms and called Cakrī or Kamaḷākṣadeva. The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu such as Matsya, Kachhapa, Varāha, Narasiṃha etc. have been shown on all sides of that temple. Narasiṃha being one of the off-springs of Viṣṇu, cannot be taken as the principal deity of the same temple where his figure has been shown in the wall as the fourth incarnation of Viṣṇu. In addition to this, we are not able to trace how a tiny statue of Nṛsiṃha was installed in such a tall temple ? So, we have to search for a four armed Viṣṇu image within the premises of Śrī-Jagannātha-Temple. Nīḷa-Mādhava can be traced with four-armed Puruṣottama whom they now call Satyanārāyaṇa, installed in a considerably small temple. He must have been removed from his original seat when his temple was neglected.

Why and when it was decayed is not yet known. But, it is sure that while it was rebuilt the sculptors, out of their ignorance, disturbed the position of *Avatāra*-deities and also placed some inscribed slabs inside the temple walls. Consequently, some inscriptions were fragmented. Still, we get some unbroken inscriptions which render valuable information regarding Puruṣottama and the great Temple of Lord Jagannātha.

According to some epigraphic records, the main Jagannāth-Temple was left uncared for by previous kings, and which was constructed by Chodagaṅgadeva of Gaṅga Dynasty after he established his rule in Utkaḷa by defeating the Somavaṃśī king, Karṇakeśarī, in or about A.D. 1112 or 1113.

10. Chodagaṅgadeva was not regarded as the ruler of Utkaḷa in years between 1113-1126 A.D. In saka 1050 or 1128 A.D., however, his name was mentioned for the first time in an inscription of the Nṛsiṃha Temple, which speaks that Chodagaṅga's rule had begot happyness to the peoples of Utkaḷa. Then, he endowed *Ammaṇyā-Amṛta (Bhoga)* and his 'Aṅka'-festival was performed in the temple. He also donated a perpetual lamp by paying five *Mādas* to burn lamps in the temples of Puruṣottama-Tīrtha.

11. Although Choḍagaṅga could clear his enemies from Puri and Bhubaneswar, the entire area of the Somavaṃśī kingdom was not subjugated by him. Disturbance appeared in the north and eastern borders upto A.D. 1135. At least, in that year (1135 A.D.) the entire kingdom from the Bhāgīrathī-Gaṅgā in the east upto the Gautamī (Godāvarī) in the south came to his sway. This could be accomplished when he satisfied the gods *(Devas)*, the hermits *(Ṛsis)* and the *Pitṛs* (forefathers) by performing *tarpaṇa* and making charities. This is known from an inscription of the Śrīkūrma Temple (Vide-*Ins. Or*, Vol. III, Pt. i, p. 174). After restoration of peace in his kingdom, Choḍagaṅga must have shifted his capital from Kaliṅga-nagara (the present Mukhaliṅgaṃ) to Vārāṇāsī-Kataka (Modern Cuttack) on the bank of the Mahānadī.

12. In consideration of those historical events, we think that the great temple of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannāth was built by Choḍagaṅga after peace and tranquillity was restored in the country, in A.D. 1134 or 1135. We therefore, presume that after completion of the preliminary structure of the temple, Choḍagaṅga coronated his eldest son, Kāmārṇava, as *Yuvarāja* before the Sarvalokaikanātha, (Puruṣottama-Jagannātha) in Śakābda 1064 (A.D. 1142).

13. The great temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama was not completed in the life time of Choḍagaṅgadeva who died in about 1148 A.D. Hence, we find in the Nṛsiṃha Temple many inscriptions upto the ruling period of Anaṅgabhīmadeva (A.D. 1212-1239). These inscriptions record grants made in favour of Puruṣottama or Kamalākṣadeva (Kṛṣṇa). Therefore, we are not in favour of the theory that Puruṣottama (god) was installed in Śrī-Mandira by Choḍagaṅga. In Nāgarī-Copper-plates, Anaṅgabhīma III states that he consecrated the Śrī-Mandir of Puruṣottama. It is also known from the following verse, quoted from "Kaṭaka-rāja-Vaṃśāvalī", (a manuscript of Meckanzi-Collection)

"शाकाब्दे रन्ध्र-शुभ्रांशु-रुप-नक्षत्रनायके।
प्रासादं कारितो राज्ञाऽनङ्गभीमेन धीमता॥"

In the Saka year 1119 (=1197 A.D.) Mahārāja Anaṅgabhīma-III, has built the Temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama. When we examine this version with Nāgari Plates of Anaṅgabhīma-III, who says that the consecration of the temple was performed by him in 1230 A.D., then it is clear that

after his grand father Anaṅgabhīma-II, completed the building of 'Śrī-Mandira' in 1197 A.D. the temple was consecrated.

14. Finally, Śrī Puruṣottama's name was changed to Śrī-Jagannātha which is, for the first time, known from the following inscriptions of the time of Bhānudeva-II (A.D. 1308-1328) as noted below

(I) Puñjābi Maṭha C.P.Inscription, vide *I.O.*, vol. V,pt.II, p.375.

(II) Śrīkūrma-Temple inscription (vide; *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1214; *I.O.*, Vol.V, Pt. ii, P. 369

> "स्वस्ति श्री शकवर्ष वुलु १२३१ गु नेंटि श्रीजगन्नाथदेवर
> विजयसंवत्सरं वुलु ३ गु श्राहि कन्य शुक्ल ५ यु गुरुवारमुन
> श्रीवीरवाणु (भानु) देव जीयानं गारि वेहरणमुनं दु
> श्रीकूर्मस्वामिक्कि

This inscription proves that in saka year 1231 (=1310 A.D.), Śrī-Jagannāthadeva's 3rd *Śrāhi (Aṅka)* year was counted. It is also indicating that Śrī-Jagannātha was the divine ruler of the country and He possessed the new name as Śrī-Jagannāthadeva while the king Bhānudeva-II, was designated as *'Jennā'* (Commander).

(III) Siṃhāchaḷa-Temple inscription (Vide: S.I.I.,Vol.VI,No.714;*I.O* vol. V, Pt.II, P. 390) states in the saka year 1241 (1319) A.D.

> "श्रीदेवादिदेव श्रीजगन्नाथदेवर (लु) विजयराज्य संवत्सरं वुलु
> १३ श्राहि रिषभ कृष्ण ११ यु पण्डितवारमुनाडु शंकरदासमहा-
> सेनापति अधिकारमुन "

In this inscription *Śrī Devādideva* Śrī-Jagannāthdeva's 13th Śrāhi *(Aṅka)* is mentioned in 1319 A.D. Therefore, his Śrāhi year was counted in the beginning of the 14th century, although it was not continued in subsequent years.

Plate No. - I

MAP OF PURI TOWN

LEGEND
Municipal Boundary
Commercial Areas
Temple
Tank

Drawn by: E. Hein according to Masterplan for Puri - Town Planning Organisation, Orissa

Plate No. - II

Temples of Purushottamadhama

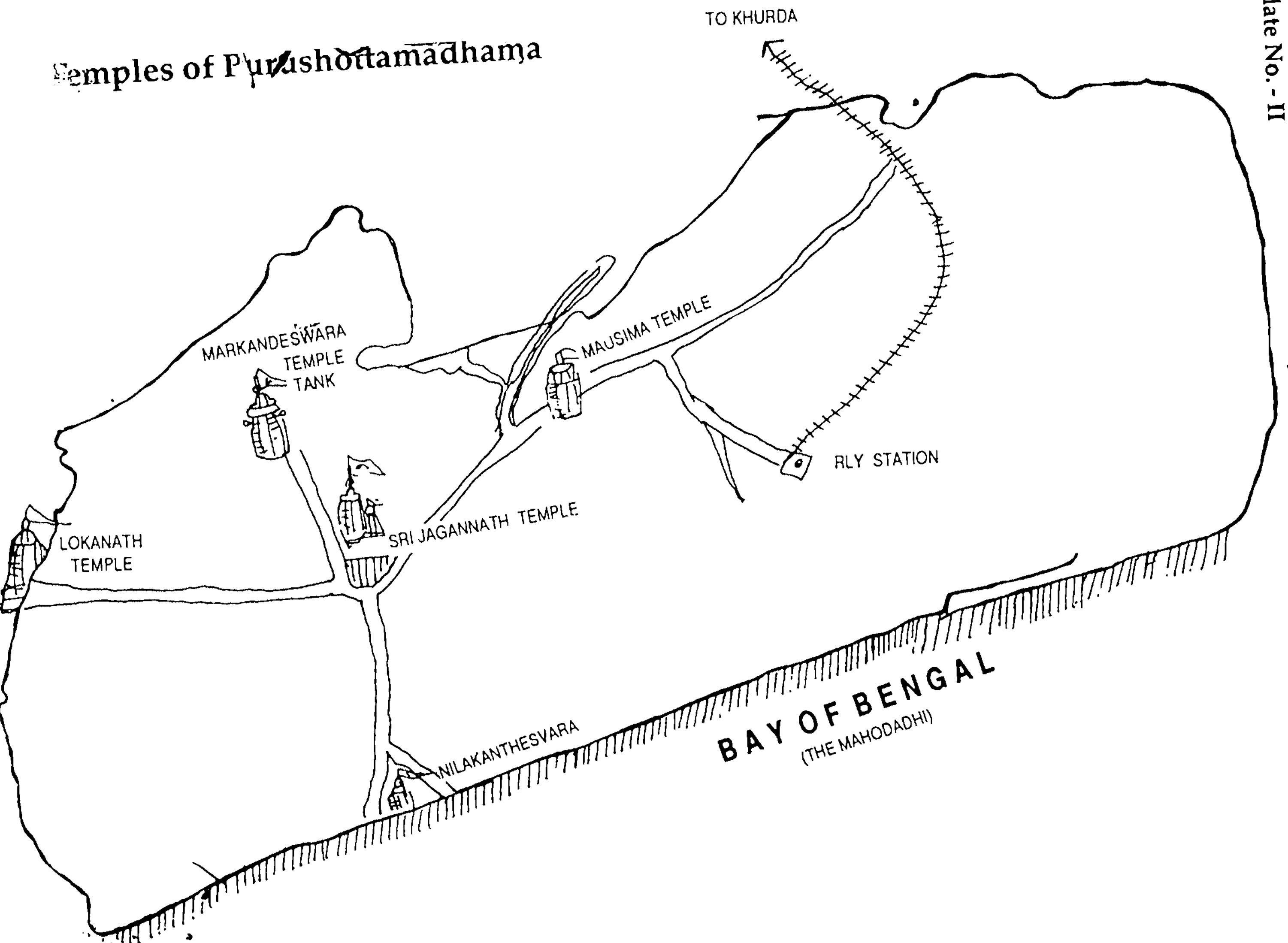


Plate No. III

PALAEOGRAPHY

(The Temples of Puri)
(12th-13th Century A.D.)

अ अ आ इ

क ख ग घ च छ ज

ट ठ ड ण त थ

द ध न न प ब भ

म य र ल व श ष

स ह क्ष

Plate No. IV

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PALAEOGRAPHY

[(King Vijayasena of Bengal (11th. Century A.D.)]

अ आ

क ख ग घ च छ

ज ट ठ ड ण

त थ द ध न

प ब भ म

य र ल श ष ह

PART 1

Inscription of the temples of Puri

No -1



No 1
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] शाकाब्दानां प्रमा[णे] विष्टप[1] गुण
२. वियच्चन्द्रसंख्या प्रयाते [श्री] मद्-
३. विसंभुवो महति हरित(ती)र्थाव
४. न्धामी (मि) मात्मतनुः ॥ क्षेत्रेः(त्रे)षु
५. यं [ना]रायण सुमतिवरः सो
६. तारापति (प्रतिम) ......
७. दीपं समदिसदत्त [भो] ज्यो[2]
८. भूयाय देवैः ॥ आचन्द्रा
९. र्कधरातारं दीपस्यार्थे घृतं
१०. [प्र]दा [म] स्मर्धि (र्थं) पंच निष्काणां पंक-
११. ग्राम [नि] वासिने[3] [॥]*

---

(1) This word appears like '*Viṣṭapa*' But, for the sake of metre, (Sragdharā-chanda), we may read it *Viṣaya*.
(2) Read "समादिशद् भोज्यो"

(3) The metre is Anuṣṭubh-chanda.
The language used in this inscription is erroneous, although the content is not unknown.

No.1

Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara. The script of the inscription is North-East-Indian Kutila type. The language is defective Sanskrit.

The measurement of the inscribed portion of the Slab is 31" X 18" The date is given in a verse : "Śakāvda Viṣaya-Guṇa-Viyat-Candra (I)" i.e. Śaka-year 1035 = 1113 A.D. No name of any king or *Śrāhi* is mentioned.

The inscription states that a nobel, named Nārāyaṇa, (2) who is like the Moon (among scholars) has granted for instalation of a perpetual lamp and a large amount of offerings (Bhojya) to the god at the great Hari-Kṣetra (land of Hari). He endowed five NIṢKAS of gold-coin to the villagers of Paṅka-grāma to up keep burning the lamp as long as the moon, the earth and the stars would endure.

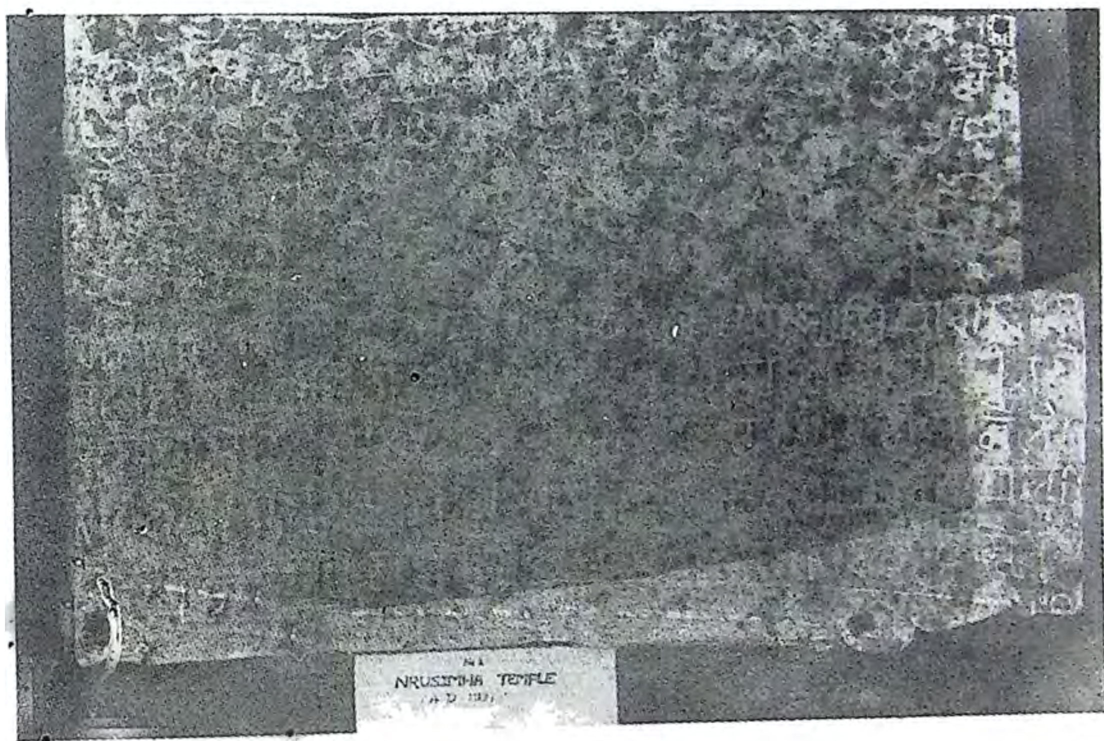
There is a Telugu inscription, just below this inscription, which mentions the Śaka-Year 103(0) = 1108 A.D. The inscription is, therefore, the earliest record among the inscriptions so far discovered from the temples of Puri, if the last symbol is zero.

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(1) Viṣaya = 5; Guṇa = 3; Viyat = 0 and Candra = 1.
According to the old system, the numerical symbols are to be read from right to left. Hence, the reading of the Śaka-year should be 1035 which is equal to 1113 A.D.

(2) In No-2 inscription of Nṛsiṃha-Temple, the same Śudhivara Nārāyaṇa's name is mentioned, as a Mahā-Kavi in the Royal-Court of the Gaṅga-Kings. Presumably, he was the same person who may be the commentator of the *Uttara-Naiṣadha-Carita* and also that of the *Uttara-Rāma-Carita* (Vide. M. Winternitz, H.I.L., Vol-III, PP. 83. Foot-note 3; P. 259, foot-note 2).

No. - 2 (below)



No. 2
Text

१. शाकाब्दे शर-लोक-खेन्दुगणिते नारायणस्य[1] प्रिया [श्री] गङ्ग{ }स्य

२. महाकवो(वे)[ऽ]थमहि(हि)ता श्रीमत्कलि[ङ्गा]ख्यया [।]

धी(धि)आ (या) श्रीपुरुषो-

३. [त्त] माय सुमतिः प्रादादखण्डम्महाद्वादस्यां(श्यां) रमणी[क]लाप

४. [वि] धिवद्दीपं सुरस्त्रीसमां[2]॥ आचन्द्रार्कधरातारं दीपाद्य[ञ्च]

५. घृतप्रदां तृ(त्र)यं पञ्च [द्विं] निष्काणी(णि) मालाकाराङ्गधम्मिलः[3] [॥]

(1) The name of the Mahā-Kavi Nārāyaṇa who lived in the royal court of the Imperial Gaṅga Kings in 1113 A.D. may be the author of the Nārāyaṇa-Stotram apart from the Commentaries, noted in the previous inscription.

(2) The metre is *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṃ*.

(3) The metre is *Anuṣṭubh*. The same two metres, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṃ* and *Anuṣṭubh* have been used defectively in No. 1 where the donor is the same person of the present inscription.

No.2

Notes

The Inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha. The script of the inscription is North-East-Indian type. The language is Sanskrit in verse.

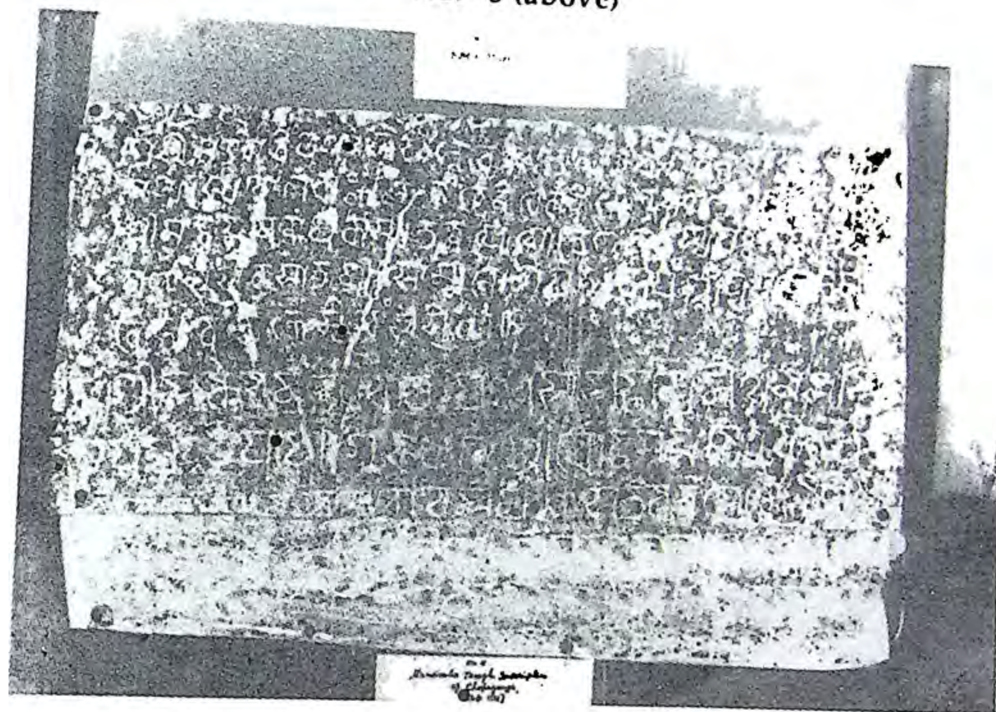
The measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is 31 inches in length and 18 inches in width. The date is given in verse as Śara (=5); Loka (=3), Kha (=0) and Indu. The total number is Śaka year 1035 = 1113 A.D.

The inscription states that in the Saka year 1035, a Maha-kavi, who is called *Mahat* (noble) of Kaliṅga, named Nārāyaṇa, a *sumati*, had granted a perpetual lamp in honour of Puruṣottama on the auspicious day of *Mahādvādaśī* with a *Dīpa-daṇḍa* (a lamp-stand) as a monumental shrine in the form of a celestial damsel.
To up keep the lamp burning till the existence of the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars. The cost of the required quantity of ghee at thirty-five NIṢKAS of gold-coin was granted by him to the *Mālākāra* (garland-maker) *Aṅga-dhammila*.[1]

---

(1) The compound word *Mālākārāṅgadhammila* is perhaps two words Mālākāra and Aṅgadhammila, two designations of a person who does the service in preparation of garlands and adoration of deities from top portions of head. But, we presume that Dhambila may be a name of the garland-maker.

No. - 3 (above)



No. 3
Text

१. श्री खिमड़[1](ड़ि)वात्रि(सि)त

२. मस्यास्य पालकः ।। सा(शा)काब्दे निधिकाब्धिखेन्दुगणिते गं.....

३. श्रीमद्गङ्गननायकस्य तनयो (यः) गोत्रेण वच्छा(त्सा)स्य(न्व)यः। [शास्त्रेष्व] -

४. ग्रणी सुभट सा(शा)न्त श्रीसोम्मनोराय तं दीपं श्री पुरुषोत्तम (स्य)-

५. विभवे [च] क्रे स्थिरं संस्थितं(तम्)*।।

---

(1) Khimaḍa is identified with Khimaḍi-Maṇḍaḷa which was under a Maṇḍaḷādhipati in 1126 A.D. when Choḍagaṅga was the overlord of Kaḷiṅga. According to Koni inscription of the Kāḷachuri-King, Pṛthvirāja-II of 1147-48, his general, Puruṣottama, claims that he defeated the prince of Khiminḍi-Maṇḍla, (Vide E.I. Vol. XXVII, pp 282-3)

* The inscription is badly damaged at the top of the slab and also carelessly engraved. The entire text seems to have been written in a Sanskrit verse in 'Śārdūḷavikriḍitaṃ' *Chanda*, although it was not correctly written after line 4.

No. 3
Notes

The inscription is in the left side of the upper part of the entrance of Nṛsiṃha temple. The script of the inscription belongs to the North-East-Indian type.

The language is defective Sanskrit.

The inscription states that one Śrī-Somanna Nāyaka, who is *Subhaṭa* (noble) and *Śānta* (Peace lover) and son of Śrī Vaṅkuna Nāyaka and the Chief Administrator of Khimaḍa (Khimuṇḍi), installed a lamp for the prosperity of Śrī-Puruṣottama in the Saka year Nidhi, Abdhi, Kha and Indu (=1048) = 1126 A.D.

The whole text is written in a Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṃ* metre.

Somanna Nāyaka's father Muṅka Nāyaka who belonged to Vatsa *gotra*, is also mentioned in an inscription of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam which was the old capital of Kaliṅga. Most probably, he was appointed as an officer of Khimuṇḍi in the 45th Srāhi (=1121 A.D.) when Choḍagaṅga was the over-lord of Trikaliṅga country. (vide Ins. Or., Vol., III, Pt. I,P.89)

A few indistinct lines of another inscription is noticed at the bottom.

Plate No. - VIII

No. - 4



No. 4
Text

१. सा(शा)काब्दे निधिचाब्धिखेन्दुगणिते कु-
२. म्भस्थिते भास्करे श्रीसौभाग्ययसो (शो)-
३. विधानविल[स] त्वांसो धृत (तो) कं.....[1]
४. श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय विभवे दीपस्थिरं
५. पोतयः[2] लेंकः श्रीमदनन्तवर्मनृप-
६. ते विक्कल्लसूरात्मजः[3] पु(पू)र्व्वे धृवादि विषये
७. म्राहोपुरनिवासिभिः [॥] उपसृत्यश्च नि
८. स्का (ष्का)णि गृहीत -कृ [ता] दिति॥

---

(1) Some letters are illigible and not in readable condition at the end of the third line.
(2) The name of Potaya Senāpati is mentioned in an inscription of Madhukeśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅga, incised in the 49th Śrāhi of Choḍagaṅgadeva which year corresponds to 1123-24 A.D. (Vide Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. I, P 93.)
(3) The verse is in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita chanda* which is popularly used in inscriptions.

No 4
Notes

The inscription belongs to Nṛsiṃha Temple. The script used is of North-East-Indian type. The language is Sanskrit with two verses in *Sragdharā* and *Anuṣṭubh Chandas.*

The measurement of the inscribed part of the slab is 18.5 inches long and 12 inches broad.

The inscription states that one Potaya-Leṅka, son of Vikalla and an officer of the King Anantavarma (Choḍagaṅgadeva), has donated a permanent lamp for the prosperity of Śrī-Puruṣottama in the Saka year Nidhi, Avdhi, Kha and Indu (=Śakāvda 1048) = 1126 A.D. in the month of Kumbha. The donor Potaya has appointed some residents of Mahopura in the east of Dhṛvadi-Viṣaya for making (provision necessary to upkeep the lamp burning which he installed), and they agreed to do so.

The designation *Leṅka* of an officer in the Gaṅga-Administration seems to have been borrowed from the Choḷa-Administration of Kāñchi. From an inscription of the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam, we find that one Suraya *Leṅka* was an officer of Vīra-Choḍa of the Choḷa-family of Kāñchi. (Vide S.I.I,Vol., V, No. 1093; Ins. Or. Vol. III, Pt.i,P.84). The same designation is now used by some *Khaṇḍāyat* class of Puri and Cuttack Districts.

Plate No. - IX

No. - 5



No. 5
Text

१. ....अव्यर्थो गा(ग्रा)मे
२. ....नायक ॥ ततो पुत्रो मा { दी }
३. ...माङ्कन नामाक्ष (ख्य) सुधीषु[1]
४. ....तस्यात्मये(जो) विचरंती(ति) ही(हि)माद(द्री)
५. मा(म)हाव्र(प्र)तापीकलिङ्गे नामाक्ष(ख्य)-
६. [वि] र(रु)पाक्षकली(लि)कलुस(ष)मल
७. ....प(प्र)सादादत(त्त) च ष्वा(स्वा)पद
८. ....म देवरग्रामे सी(शि)वा
९......हेमसुता [।] सम्वच्छ(त्स)रे
१०. [स]हस्रे कर्त्ता करी(रि)पतिगतप(पा)
११. पराम सृं(शृं)गजागरण कौण्ड़ी(ण्ड़ि)-
१२. [न्य] गोत्र[2]

---

(1) The name Mañkana is mentioned in an inscription of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam which is refered in our note below.

(2) The inscription is badly damaged and erroneously engraved and also incomplete.

(No.5)
Notes

This inscription is in the right top of the wall at the entrance of Nṛsiṃha-temple. The Script used in it belongs to the North-East-Indian type. The language is erroneous Sanskrit Prose.

Measurement of the inscribed portion of the Slab is 13 inches long and 12 inches broad. The inscription is badly damaged.

It states (which is not correctly known but only assumed) that a noble *(Śudhi)* named Maṅkana, whose son in Kaḷiṅga had performed a *Vrata* of Virupākṣa (Śiva), a hard austerity to escape from the stains of Kaḷi-age (for which sake) he wondered at the Himādri region to receive mercy from Śiva and the Hemagiri's daughter (Durgā) at.........devara grāma where there are wild animals *(Śvāpada)*, in the year (?) called (Hemasutā ?) and at the Rāmasṛṅga (Rāmagiri?), the Lord of which possessed one thousand elephants. He belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya-gotra.*

An officer named Maṅka Nāyaka is found in an inscription of Madhukeśvar-temple at Mukhaliṅgaṃ in the 45th, Śrāhi of Choḍagaṅ-gadeva, corresponding to 1121 A.D. (Vide Ins-Or., Vol-III, Pt.1, P.89 ff.)

Plate No. - X

No - 6



No. 6
Text

१. श्रीचोड़गङ्ग देव [स्य]
२. सम्वत् ५ [३] पुर-
३. णो[ग्रा]म[1] निर्म्मा[य]
४. ॥श्रीपुरुषोत्त [म]
५. स्य व्यए[षु] गवा ३
६. दत(त्त) ॥ [माला] कार-
७. [दे]वस्य ॥

(1) The village Puraṇa was established by Choḍagaṅga. But, the same village was converted to a prosperous *Brāhmaṇa Śāsana* latter.

No 6

Notes

This inscription is attached to a wall of Nṛsiṃha temple. The script is North-East-Indian type. The language is Sanskrit prose.

This inscription contains only 7 lines within a little space.

The importance of this inscription is that it states the king Śrī-Choḍagaṅga's donation of three cows at Puraṇa-grāma for production of milk and curd for Śrī-Purușottama's *bhoga* under the supervision of the *Māḷākāra* of the God.

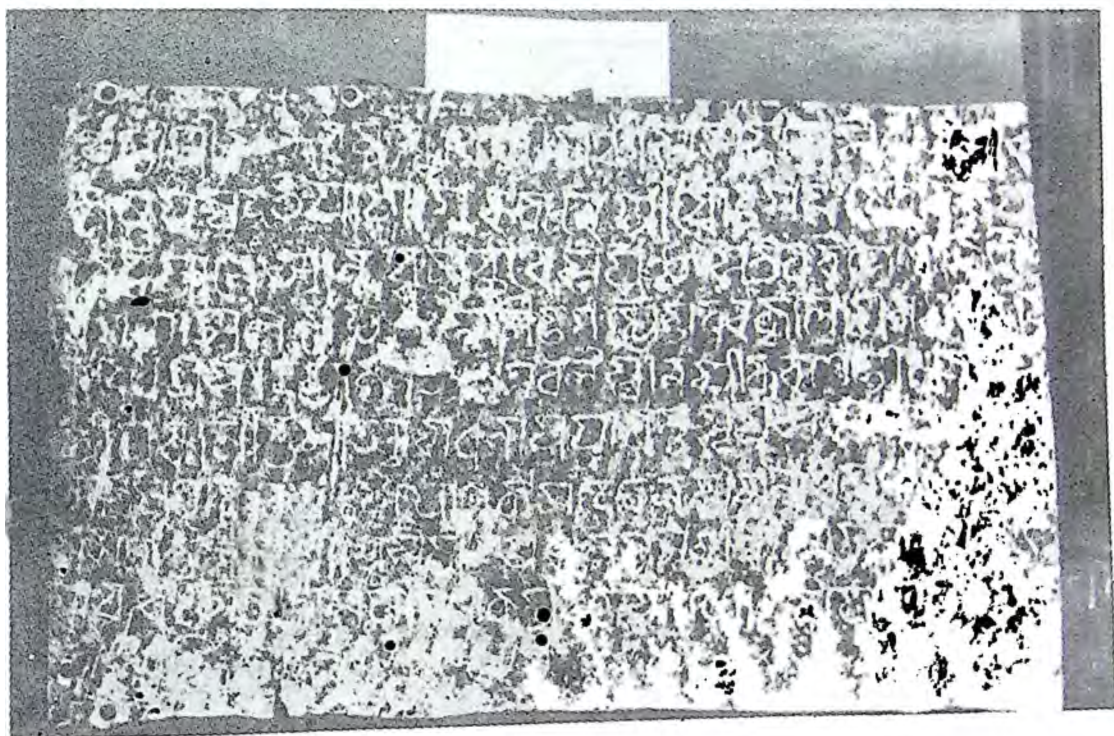
Puraṇa-grāma was probably a hamlet of the cowherd people *(Gauḍa)*. Hence three milch cows were kept in that village for supply of curd or ghee for *Bhoga* of Śrī-Purușottama at Puri.

The same Puraṇa-grāma was converted into a prosperous *Brāhmaṇ Śāsana* by Anaṅgabhīmadeva, about hundred years after when he consecrated the great temple of Śrī-Purușottama at Puri. We have discussed this aspect in the first part refering to Nāgari C.P inscription. The village was situated near the city of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, (the modern city of Cuttack) on the bank of the Mahānadī. *

* vide Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p.238 ff.

Plate No. - XI

No - 7



No. 7
Text

१. स्वस्ति [॥] श्रीस(श)क सम्वच्छ(त्स)रे ती(त्रि)पञ्चास्रसहस्रे मिथुनमास
२. कृष्णपक्ष दु(द्वि) ति (ती)यायां गुरुवारे श्रीचोड़गङ्गदेवविजयरा-
३. य्ये(ज्ये) वर्द्धमाने अन्वछम्वछ(त्स)रे[1] सप्त[प]ञ्चास(श)ति वरिसो[2] ॥ मरालमु-
४. खमणी अलङ्कृत[श्र] स्वामिभग (व) प्रै(प्र)भाव(क)रकुलोप्तन्न खिमेड़ि-[3]
५. स्य(श्व)[र]देवप्रसादित। जन.... सवलिस्थान श्रीकरण भीमनाथस्य[4]
६. श्रीपुरुषोत्तम आराधनाय्र यावत्त (त्) सूर्य ससाङ्का (शशाङ्क) वर्त्तते
७. त कृष्णगृहे[5] माला: दीपान् कामदेवेन भीमनाथस्य कारी(रि)त....
८. पुरुषोत्तम स्यात्। प्रसिद्धपयरात्तस्य मुखत्री(त्रिं)स(श)त माधव...
९.

(1) Read *Anusaṃvatsare* (=after year).
(2) Read *Verse*.
(3) Read Khemuṇḍi.
(4) *Śrī-Karaṇa* Bhīmanātha's name is mentioned in two inscriptions in the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅga (Vide Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. i, pp-158 and 167). *Śrī-karaṇa* Bhīmanātha was the son of Potamanāyaka. He possessed the title of *Rāja-Vidyādhara*.
(5) Kṛṣṇa-gṛha or the temple of Kṛṣṇa or Puruṣottama whose name is repeated in line 8 and he is perhaps called Mādhava at whose feet the donor bowed and offered garlands and lamp.

No 7

Notes

This inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha. It is at the middle part of the right side of entrance wall. The script is North-East-Indian Kutila type and the language is Sanskrit in prose.

The inscription states that one *Śrī-Karaṇa* named Bhīmanātha of Śāvaḷi who was graced by the god.

Prabhākara (the Sun-god) of Khimeḍi, adorned with Marāḷa-Mukha-Maṇi (a gem of deep-red mixed with a little yellow colour) (1), in whose race he was born, has accomplished the sacred *ārādhanā* (devotion) to Śrī-Puruṣottama (and) supply of *māḷā* (flower garlands) and *dīpa*(lamp) through Kāmadeva to continue in Bhīmanātha's name as long as the sun and the moon exist........ in honour of Puruṣottama at the home of Kṛṣṇa. (2) The last two lines are not understandable.

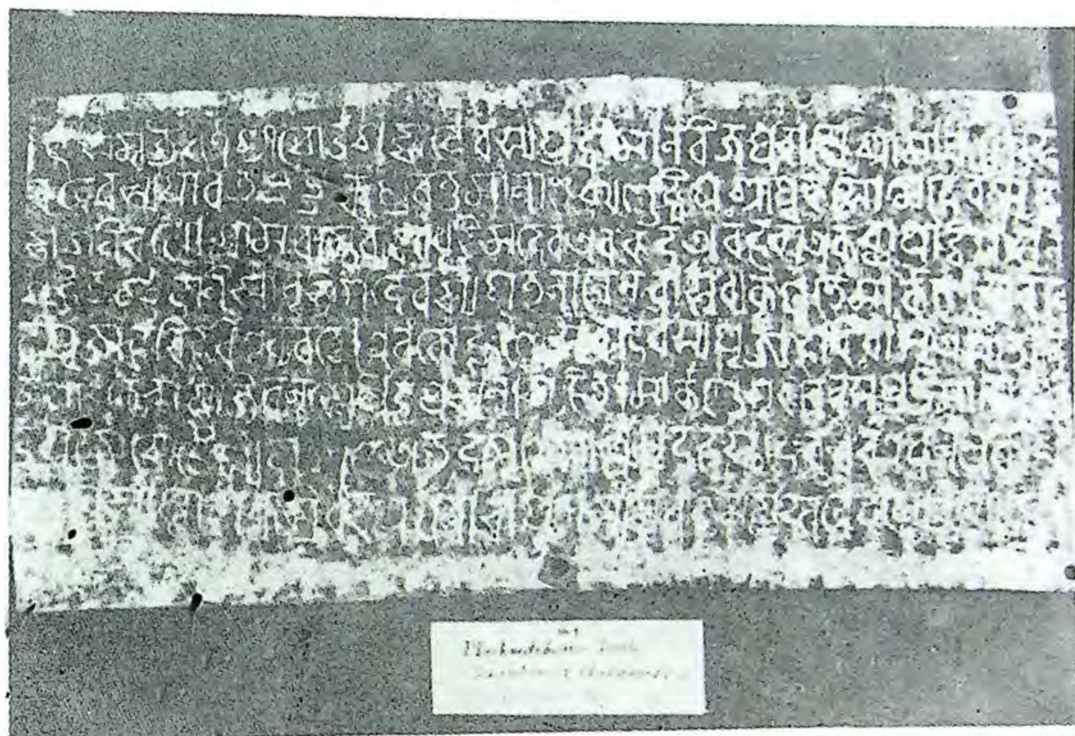
The donation was made in the Śaka year 1053 (1131 A.D.) and in the month of Mithuna, the second *tithi* of the dark half, thursday.

The word 'Śābaḷi' may be the name of a place where the donor has resided. If so, then we may identify it with a village in Khallikota named Śābuḷiā or Ārsa-ṇali in Āndhrā Pradeśh.

(1) The Sun's one of the name is '*Dina-maṇi*' or the scarlet gem of day. Probably, *Marāḷa-mukha-maṇi* denotes the Sun, to whose race the donor's Lord belongs.

(2) *Kṛṣṇa-gṛha* is probably means the temple of Puruṣottama.

No - 8



No. 8
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] सम्वत् ५७ श्रीचोड़गङ्गदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्ये श्रीमार्कण्ड़ेश्व-
२. [र]देवस्य यावच्चन्द्रार्कप्रवर्त्तमानां(नं) खण्ड़दीप श्रीपुरुसो(षो)त्तमदेव [स्य] अद्ध(र्ध)-
३. भाग निरलोग्रामवास्तव्यसाधुभि(भी)मदेव एकरुद्र एवं हवी एकछाया द्वि (दी) पासन-
४. गृहीतं [।] इदानीं साधुभि(भी)मदेवस्य पुत(त्र)नामे(म)न वासुध्यकृत्पुते (त्रे) मार्कण्डेस्व(श्व)रदे-
५. व पूजाहारि(हरि) एवं वन्दो एवं कोङ्गणेस्व(श्व)रदेवस्य पूजाहरि वासू (सु) एषां ती(ति)नि-
६. जण। एकछायाजि(जी)वन्तस्रे(श्रे)ष्ठदी(दी)पदानगृहीतं। मार्कण्ड़ेस्व (श्व)रदेव संप्रति मासे द्दि (दी)प-
७. उपजो(यो)गे तैल्य(ल)दाशृते (?) एतद {अ} र्थे साक्षिमुद्रहस्थ(स्त)देवधर एवं नि(नी)लकं(क)-
८. ण्ठृ(ण्ठ)पसा(सु)पालक सेवक एवं नारायण हरि [।] सामवा(या)जि[1] महासिद्धि चामरि श्रीकर-
९. ण हरि [॥]

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1. Read "Somayāji"

No. 8
Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara. The script, used in it is of North-East-Indian Kutila type. The language is Oriya mixed with Sanskrit.

The measurement of the inscribed portion is 31 inches long and 12 inches broad.

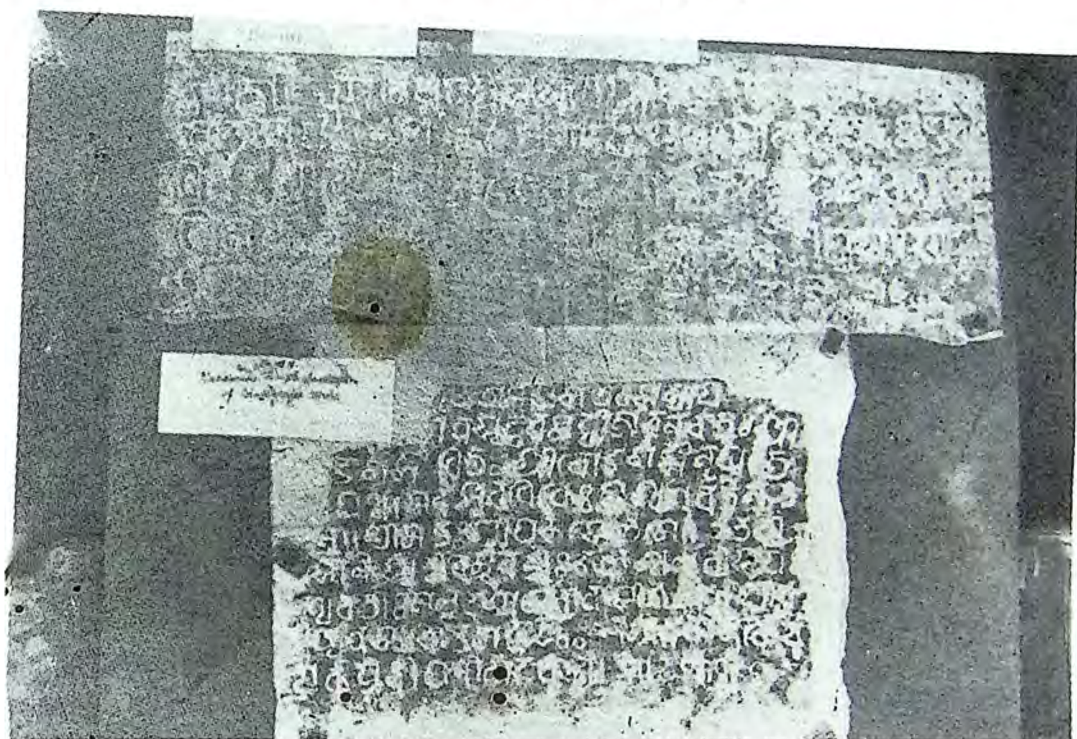
The inscription states that in the 57th auspicious and victorious reign of Śrī Choḍagaṅgadeva, a perpetual lamp (to burn before) Mārkaṇḍeśvra (excluding) a half of Niroḷa-grāma, belongs to Śrī Puruṣottama, (the other half is donated) to its resident *Sādhu* (sage) Bhīmadeva who accepted the *Eka-chhāyā*,[1] *Havi* and *Dīpāsana*. Thus, now his son being newly consecrated, as *Pūjāhari* of Mārkaṇḍeśvaradeva Hari and Vando ? and the *Pūjāhari* of Koṅganeśvaradeva (named) Vasu, Those three persons have accepted the supreme *Dīpa-dāna* (donation of lamp) in accordance to *Ekachhāyā*, which they have accepted. For one month they have also to supply oil to burn before (the god) Mārkaṇḍeśvaradeva. This service charter was made under the witness of *Mudrāhasta* Devadhara, Nīḷakaṇṭha *Paśupālaka* and *Sevaka* (temple servant) Nārāyana *Sāmavāji*, the *Mahāsiddhi-Cāmari-Śrīkarana Hari.*[2]

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(1) *Ekachhāyā* means the payment of whole debt (vide *Yājñavaḷkya Smṛti (Mitāksharā)*, ii, 56; Katyāyana *Dharmaśāstra*. Accordingly, *Sādhu* Bhīmadeva might have been paid by Choḍagaṅgadeva the full amount of money for *Havi* (one day one meal) and *Dīpāsana* (A kind of *Yogāsana*).

(2) The inscription was edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, p. 131 ff. I am trying to rectify some of the errors in his reading.

No - 9 (above) & 16 (below)



No. 9
Text

१. शाकाब्दे शरविषयद्ये (दयु) [1]ससि (शशि) णे श्रीचोड़गङ्गप्रभो :...श्रीपुरु-
२. षोत्तमाय विभवे नारायणाख्यः सुधीः [।] प्रादादी (द्दी) पमखण्डवत्ति (र्त्ति)
३. विधिवद्दण्डा[redacted] महाद्वादस्यां (श्यां) ....दं नवमुनि से-
४. वैक आवाई(हि)नि:(निं)[2]। आचन्द्रार्कधरातारं दीप(पा)स्या सघृत-
५. ञ्च[3]......

---

(1) Read "Śaśi Gaṇite"
(2) *Śārdūlavikrīḍita Chanda.*
(3) *Anuṣṭubh Chanda* in-completed.

No.9
Notes

The inscription belongs to Nṛsiṃha Temple at the right side of the entrance wall, second from the top. The script is of North-East-Indian type and the language is Sanskrit. The verse is spoiled due to negligence of the engraver. The inscribed portion of the slab measures 29 inches long and 9.5 inches broad.

The inscription records a grant by *Śudhi* (noble) Nārāyaṇa, the *Daṇḍādhikārī* (police officer), for a perpetual lamp systematically to burn in (the temple of) Śrī-Puruṣottama as long as the moon and the sun would exist. The grant was made in the Śaka year Śara-Viṣaya-dyu-Śaśi (=1055) corresponding to 1133 A.D., on the auspicious day of *Mahā-Dvādaśī*, i.e. the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārtika* which is called the *Devotthāna-Dvādaśī* or the rising day of Viṣṇu from bed......the nine *munis*, who performed the service of *Āvāhana* of the deities.

The last part of inscription is not clear.

Plate No. - XIV

No - 10



No 10
Text

१. श्री चोड़गङ्गदेवस्य राज्ये
२. विजयिनः शुभेष [षि] शाकाब्दाङ्के[1]
३. मासे माघे पुण्यदिने तथा॥ मार्क-
४. ण्डेश्वरदेवाय दत्तो[ऽ]भी-
५. ष्टफलप्रदः[2] [।] प्रेमाड़ि[स]जनीरेण
६. दीपो[ऽ]खण्ड़ित (यो) कवि (ऋषिभिः)
७. मुनी(नि)वासस्थे शिवरुपादि स-
८. ज(ज्ज)नै(:) तैल दानादि(दी)नद्यापि दि(दी)पोस्थ(स्मिन्) परि-
९. पाल्यते[3] (॥)

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(1) But, actually it refers to the *Aṅka* year of the King.
(2) The metre is *Prāmāṇika*
(3) There are four indistinct lines noticed just below the inscription.

No 10

Notes

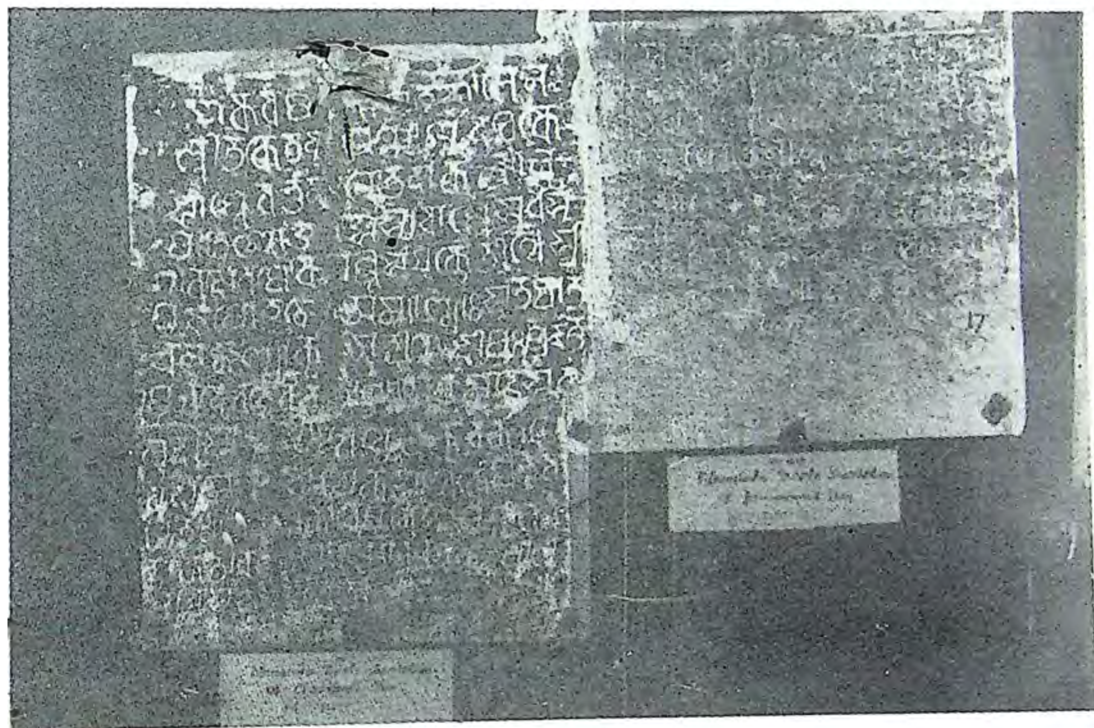
This inscription is on the right side of the wall of the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara. The script is North-East Indian Kutila type. The language is defective Sanskrit prose.

The inscription states that a perpetual lamp was gifted by Vīra Parmārḍirāja to burn in the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara, where lived many *Kavi*, Ṛsi (sage,) and *Muni* (hermit), all appear like Śiva (the god) and they are to look after the lamp burning. The donation was made for fulfilment of desires of the donor (Parmārḍirāja) and it is made on the glorious sixtieth *Aṅka* year of Śrī-Choḍagaṅgadeva (1134-5 A.D.) in his victorious reign.

It is necessary to state that Parmārḍirāja was the younger brother of Choḍagaṅgadeva, who, after amalgamation of Kaḷiṅga with Utkaḷa, made his brother the Governor of the Southern part of his Kingdom.

Plate No. XV

No - 11 (left) & 17 (right)



No.11
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] शकवर्ष[स]हस्रेतु(षु) काले नी (नि)-
२. र्णीतके तद(दा) पञ्चाशदधिके
३. साष्टे वर्षे [मा] ने तदा कलौ [।] नृ-
४. पतेश्चोडुगङ्ग(ङ्ग)स्य राष्ट्रे सर्वसु-
५. खावहो(हे) वर्षैक[ष]ष्टिसयुक्ते तीर्थेसु(षु)
६. पुरुषोत्तमे [॥] [1]अम्मण्या: सृ (शृ)तया त-
७. त्र मङ्काण्या कृ[त]मन्दिरे [।] दीप: प्रवर्त्त (र्त्ति)-
८. [तो] पञ्च देवदेवं च[च]क्री(क्रि)णः[2] ॥ पञ्च माढ़ सुव-
९. र्णं [च] दीपा [र्थं] स्यार्थं द्वे दङ्क [दि] व(वा)क्यं [शि] -
१०. वदास विभा(भु)ख्य(क्षु)क(के) साधि(ध)केषु विव-
११. र्जित: ॥ म[हा]नर्के(रके)विष्ठानिक्षेपं(पा)दाच-
१२. न्द्रतार[कम्] । आकल्पाङ्ग(न्तं) नरक:(के)
१३. न-सुभने धिआ(या)[3]॥

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(1) *Ammaṇiyā* denotes sacred food before offered to God.

(2) The two verses belong to the chanda (metre) called *Prāmāṇika* (vide The *Chandomañjari*, P 79 (Chaukhamba, 1988 ed.)

(3) The metre is erroneous and the language is defective.

No.11
Notes

The inscription is in the north-side-wall of the temple of Nṛsiṃha. The script is of North-East-Indian Kutila type. The language is written in Sanskrit verses of *'Prāmāṇika-Chanda'* (metre).

The size of the inscribed portion of the slab is 15 inch by 17 inch.

The inscription records that in the 'Śaka year counted one thousand added by fifty in the *Kaḷi-age*, during the King Choḍagaṅga's reign who created happiness on all sides in the sixty-first year (of his reign at the *Tīrtha* of Purusottama, while his Ceremony of *AṄKA* was performed in the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama by restoration of a *Suvarṇa-Dīpa* (golden lamp) as per scripture (of *Dharma-śāstra*) with donation of five Mādas (gold coin) for its maintenance by singing *Veda-Vākya* (hymns) by Śiva Dāsa. The noxious beggars who may destroy this *Amanyā'* (grant made in the name of god) will fall in the *Mahā-narka* (great hell) of dungy-pit for a great length of time *(ākalpa)* suffering difficulties.

Plate No. XVI

No - 12 (below) & 13 (above)



No 12
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] श्रीचोड़गङ्गदेवस्य प्रवर्ध-
२. मानो (न) विजयराये (ज्ये) सम्वत (त्) [६] २
३. शाकेब्दे वसुबाणखेन्दुगणिते
४. कृष्णद्वी (द्वि)तीयामुखे प्रादाच्छ्रीपु(रु)रु-
५. षोत्तमस्य गुणवत गोविन्ददो-
६. लादिने[।]निष्कं(ष्का)र्न् पञ्चम[सु]पुंगविप्रवी(वि)-
७. षये दि(दी)पार्थी:र्थी(र्था) छ्टहस्था(स्ता)ङ्गसु-
८. न्दरिणीती (ति) भक्तियुतया श्रीकामदे-
९. वस्सुधी [॥]

(1). The word *'Guṇavat'* is not intelligible, although it is an adjective of the word *'Govinda-dolā-dina'* which is a significant festival called *'Doḷotsava'* or *'Holi'*, observed for five days, from the 10th *tithi* upto *Paurṇamī* of Phālguṇa. After the full-moon day of Phālguṇa, the festival of *'Pañca-doḷa'* of this grant was observed.

No 12
Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha, fixed on its outer-wall of northern side. The script is North-East-Indian Kutila type. The language is a mixture of Sanskrit prose and verse. The measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is 15 by 12.5 inches.

The inscription records that in the prosperous and victorious kingdom of Śrī-Choḍagaṅgadeva's reigning year [6] 1 and in Saka year Vasu-Bāṇa-Kha-Indu (=Śakāvda 1058 or 1136 A.D.) and in the face (?) of the second *tithi*, DOḶA, The noble Kāmadeva has granted five Niṣkas (gold-coins) at Puṅga-Vipra-Viṣaya (?) for burning of lamp (on a metallic lamp-stand made of) eight handed-handsome maidens.

Plate No. - XVII

No - 12 (below) & 13 (above)



No 13
Text

१. श्रीचोड़गङ्ग [स्य] महाराज्ये सप्तति संव-
२. दलंकृतकार्त्तिक सु(शु)कृल एकादशी ति-
३. थि-देव[दी]पवाहक: [।] पु(रु)रुसो(षो)त्तम
४. श्रीक्षेत्रे यावच(च्च)न्द्रदिवाकरौ·
५. प्रदि (दी)पोद्दीपिते सु(शु)भ्रो ल्लोल्लपेन
६. महामा(मं)त्रि-सुतेन [ ]जस। [illegible] व-
७. [1]त्सपर्नेन अहोरात्रं सुवण्णा(र्णा)क्षौ माढ
८. केन च मालाकार जया सि(शि)वदास
९. अधिपाक मणिया[2] वासुदेवाय इति [॥]

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(1) The word *Vatsaparṇa* is not intelligible. But, the word Vatsapa means 'keeper of calves'. Therefore, it may be corrected as *Vatsapānena* or *Vatsapena*.

(2) The designation *Adhipāka-maṇiyā* may refer to a cook in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha whose duty was to prepare extra *Bhoga* for the offerings.

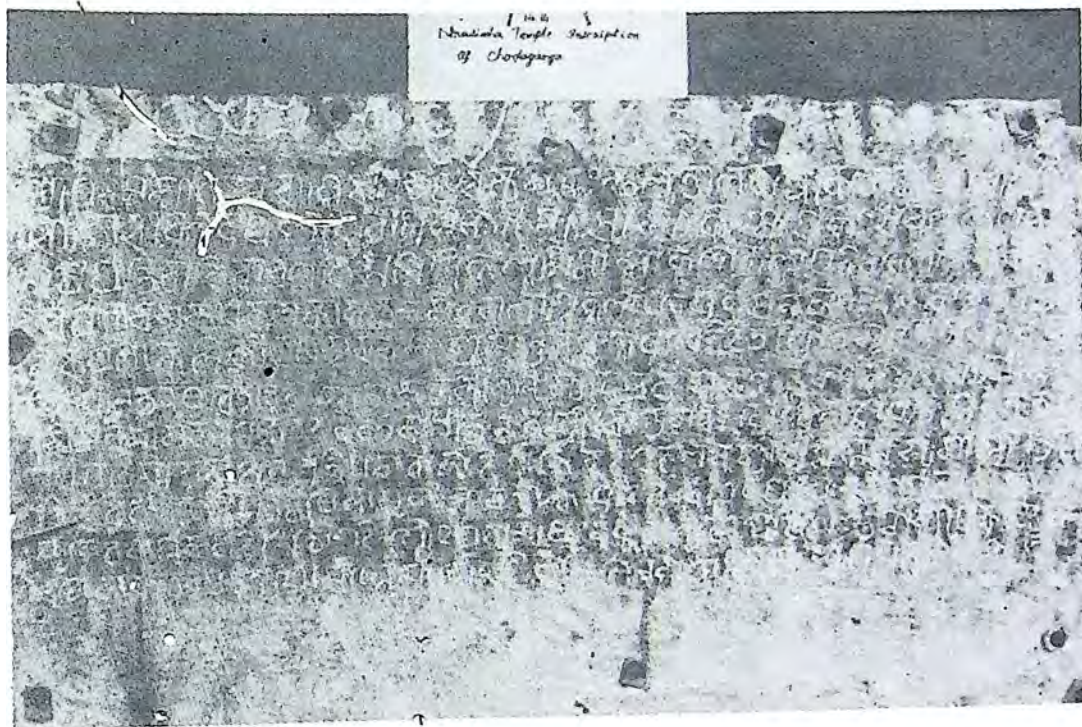
No 13
Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha and fixed on the outer wall of the northern side of the temple. The script is North-East-Indian-Kutila type. The language is in Sanskrit prose. Measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is 15 X 12 inches.

The inscription records a gift to install a refulgent lamp in the temple of Puruṣottama at Śrī-Kṣetra on the auspicious days of Ekādaśī (11th day) of the bright fortnight of Kārtika *(Devothāpana-Ekādaśī)* by the carrier of the lamp of the deity *(Deva-Dīpa-Vāhaka)* and the services would continue as long as the moon and the sun exist. The Chief-Minister's son, Lollapa, (who possessed the titles of) *Gaja-sādhana* (controller of elephants) and *Vatsaparṇa* (?) has to look after the lamp, burn brightly day and night and received a gold Mādha (for the service) together with *Māḷākāra* (Garland-maker) Śiva Dāsa (and) *Adhipāka-Maṇiyā* Vāsudeva.

Plate No. XVIII

No - 14



No - 14
Text

१. श्रीपरममाहेश्वर ।।परमभट्टारक गङ्गकुलत्ति(ति)लकत्री(त्रि)कली(लि)ङ्ग-आधिपतो-(ति)-
२. [वि] राजारी(रि)बलदप(र्प)द[ल]नापरपरमेश्वरसख्यसाकांक्षोपकांक्षरणप्रातर्व [न्द्य]-
३. [वि]पक्षप(प्र)तिवादिवारणकेस(श)रि(री)[वि]कल्पमि(मी)मांसाकलाकलाप विवरणाभिनवजग-
४. देव(क)पुण(पूर्ण्ण)वतार[;]सकलकाव्यकल(ला)मधुरालापकलाप[;]रूप [निपुण] कपटकालिदास[ ] राजनीति न-
५. वनिरुपण कलिका[ला]वतार[ ] वर्ण्णाश्रमोत्तार[को] पाधिविदितश्रौ(श्रौ)त स्मात्त(र्त्त)कर्मादृष्ट-
६. दिक(कृ)पाल तनयावतार[ ] प्रशृतोज्ज्वलकीर्त्तिसम्पादन दास(श)रथि [भा] गीरथा(थ्या)दि महाक्षत्रा(त्री)-
७. ञसि(सी)मन्तिन्यामकरध्वजेतरनवतरुणीतनुतश्रीचोड़गङ्गदेवःमहीप[ति]पुरन्दर सुरतरुश्रीरामसमस्यशास्यतौय
८. स(श) ययाति मा(म)हाराजेन्द्र[च]क्रवति(र्त्ति:) गव(र्व) चेदि [नृपे]न्द्र च (स्य)दप(र्प)दलन(ने) श्रीगङ्गसिंग्र(ह)स्य शास्यं(स्य)तो
९. चिरं विदधत्त ......आचन्द्रार्केमनन्तविधेन प्रदीप्तो[ऽ]यं....
१०. सृजेव वासवपतिलेङ्का प(प्र)दि(दी)पौ प्रदान्याष्ट निष्कं दीपो[ऽ]य[म] खण्डतया श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य
११. सूपकार मासे मासे घटिकातैलेन ग (गो)पालादस्य दीपप्रवर्त्तन इति ।।

No - 14

Some defected words are noticed as shown below in orthography :-

भटारक = भट्टारक
पसुराम = पर्शुराम
त्रीकलीङ्ग = त्रिकलिङ्ग
केसरि = केशरी
पुणावतार = पूर्णावतार
ष्रौत = श्रौत
दिकपाल = दिक्पाल
दासरथि = दाशरथी
माहाक्षत्रा = महाक्षत्री
सिमन्तिनी = सीमन्तिनी
शास्यतोयस = शाश्वतोयशा
श्रीगङ्गसिङ्ग = श्रीगङ्गसिंह

No 14

Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha, fixed on the entrance wall of the northern side of the temple. The Script, adopted in it, is of North-East-Indian Kutila type. The language is Sanskrit-Prose. The measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is 30 by 12 inches.

The inscription records that while the country was ruled by the Lion like King of the Gaṅga Dynasty *(Gaṅga-Siṃha)* the *Mahā-Rājendra-Cakravarti* (the great Empire) Śrī-Choḍagaṅgadeva who was a devote worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva) and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the supreme Lord of the Trikaḷiṅga country; who is the second Paraśurāma (in prowess) smashing the powerful enemies and a stalwart conqueror like lion upon elephants (2) and also an aggresive successor in argument; an incarnation of producer of new type of *'Tri-Kaḷpa'* (1) (*smṛti*) with *Mīmaṅsa* (3)(the analytic study of religion), the speaker of sweet poetic language, like the great Kavi Kāḷidās; who is the incarnated (Kaḷki) of the Kaḷi-age; who is the great protector of the *Varṇāśrama (Dharma)* having been a rigid follower of Vedic system in accordance to the scriptures of *Śrauta* and *Smārta* philosophy being the son of Eight-Dikpalas (the divine protectors of eight quarters of the globe) and the possessor of imperial status with fame and glory.

Like Daśaratha's son (Śrī Rāmachandra) and Bhagiratha; cupid-like charming of whose complexion is an attraction for young damsels (even) of the celestial world; (such a great emperor he is) who ruled the kingdom with kindness and justice like Rāma and Yayāti of the epic-age; being a glorious Emperor of the Gaṅga Dynasty he suppressed the fruition and fame of the Chedis.

During his suzerainty, one Vāsavapati Leṅkā has granted eight Niṣkas of gold-coin for a Perpetuaḷ lamp to burn before Śrī-Puruṣottama to *Sūpakāra* (for getting) one *ghaṭikā* full of oil from Gopāḷa (cowherd) in each month inorder to up-keep the lamp burning without interception.

(1) Perhaps it means the *'Kalpasūtra'* referred in the *Rāmāyana-Bālakānda* and in the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*, i.e. *Dharma-Śāstra*.

(2) This expression reminds us the Gaja-Simha-Shrine, found in Orissan temples during the Ganga-regime. One such shrine is now seen in the back side of Nṛsimha-temple.

(3) In the third line of the inscription there are two words namely *Kalpa* and *Mīmāṅsā*. As both words are used in a sentence closely, we may consider that the first is referring to a *Śāstra*.. Kalpa, means a precept of Law, or the practice that prescribed by the *Vedas*. The second word *Mīmāṅsā* is a theory or examination of *Vedic Text*. It is also divided into two great divisions of Hindu Philosophy, i.e. Pūrva-Mīmāṅsā and Karma-Mīmāṅsā by Jaimini who deals with the correct interpretation of Vedic ritual and text. The *Uttara-Mīmāṅsā* or *Brahma-Mīmāṅsā*, by Bādarāyaṇa, deals with the Brāhman or the universal spirit. Kumārila Bhatta and Śavara's *Bhāṣya* (convotations) are the principal works on the Mīmāṅsā-Philosophy.

(*) The definition of *Mīmāṅsā* is given by M. Winternitz as follows; "The word *Mīmāṅsā* means in vestigation', properly desire for intensive and it refers in vedic-Samhitas. It is a thing that providing to the great interest taken by ancient Indian Sages in thinking. the scholars of *Mīmāṅsā (Mīmāṅsakas)* are praised in the *'Mahā-bhāṣya* as people who are well familiar with traditions. ("H.I.L., Vol. III, P.509, N-2).

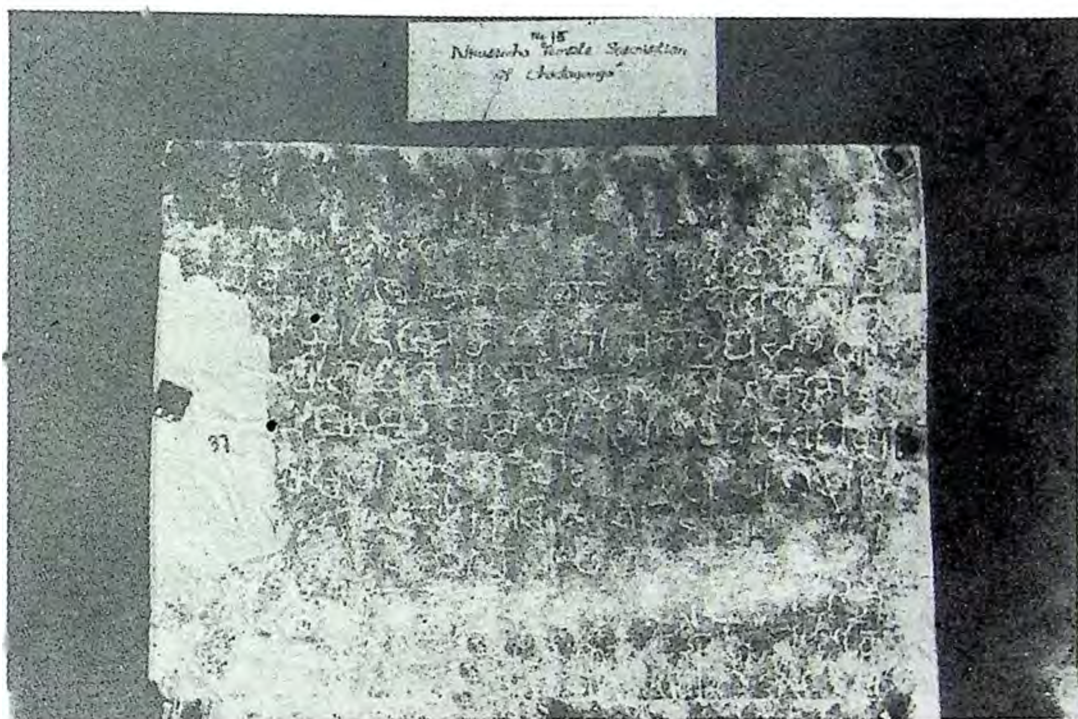
We presume that Chodagaṅgadeva might have studied those two *Dharma-Śāstras* which must have encouraged him to build a great temple at Puruṣottama-Kṣetra for worship of the Universal God or the Brahman. His *Mantra-guru* in Tantric Philosophy is called Gouri-guru of Vatsa-gotra from whom he learnt Tantrism and acquired great power after attained *siddhi* in the *Mantra*. Kavi Jīvadeva writes

"तेष्वादिमः समभवत् धृतमन्त्रसिद्धिः
शक्तिप्रसादपरमो भुवि चोड़गंगः।
गौरीगुरुर्गुरुरभूत् प्रथितोऽस्य वत्स
वंशे गुरुः सुरपतेरिव तन्त्रचित्तः ॥"
(भक्तिभागवत- महाकाव्यम्)
कवि ड़िण्ड़िमजीवदेव कृतम्

It is interesting to note here that the Prose *(gadya)* passage, used in the *Praśasti*, is a *Chanda* (Metre) called *'Utkalikā'* Probably, this *Chanda* like prose was so named because it was primarily used in Utkala.

Plate No. XIX

No - 15



No. 15
Text

१. स्वस्ति[1] शाकाब्दा .....शुभार्क्कमछ(त्स)ङ्गमानीया
२...... [व] लेन लभते श्रीमता चोड़गङ्गदेवे[न] राज्यप्रसा-
३. [रिव] वेङ्गीदेसे(शे) मण्ड़ग्राम[2] तत(त्)प्रस(सू)त कौड़ी(ण्ड़ि)-
४. [न्यगो] त्रोद्भव रायननामा तस्य भार्ज्या(र्या)रत्नमाख्या
५. [अ] षृ [म] मेड़नसंज्ञकस्या श्रीवी(वि)वृद्धपक्ष
६. .....क्षपण तनुजा श्रीकृष्णाया[म]म्भसे
७. .....मा (म) हा वारिधी(धि)वाहकमखण्ड़दी-
८. [प] ....तद अर्श माड़ पञ्चक दत(त्त) ....दश
९. .....दीपस्य व्रतान: [॥] यं(यो)व(वा) दि(दी)पस्य पय:
१०. ......विष्टमेकं.....
११.

(1) Some lines and letters are damaged.
(2) May be identified with the modern village of Maṇḍapetā, situated in the district of Śrikākulam in Āndhrāpradeśh.

No 15
Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha, fixed at the left side of the entrance wall. The script is of North-East-Indian-Kutila type. The language is Sanskrit. About six lines at the end are obliterated and indistinct. The measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is 18.5 by 12 inches.

The inscription states that a person named Rāyana with his wife, Ratnamā, resident of Maṇḍa-grāma(1) of Veṅgī-deśa which was captured by Śrīmat Choḍagaṅgadeva by applying strength, have granted five Mādas to burning a perpetual lamp for increase of prosperity in favour of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, (the killer of) Danujas in the great ocean (Mahāvāridhi)....................(2)

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(1) The village Maṇḍa-grāma may be identified with the modern 'Maṇḍapetā' in Āndhrāpradeśh.
(2) The last four lines are not distinct and readable.

Plate No. - XX

No - 9 (above) & 16 (below)



No 16
Text

१. [1]   त्रेतामपगतरसन्याय
२. ....विसु(शु)द्ध धम(र्म) द्वी(द्वि)जा च (चा)वनतश्री.....
३.   [चो] ड़गङ्ग(ङ्गा)धित: श्रीचोड़गङ्ग नृपते....
४. ....पञ्चाशद(द्) अवधिके: (के) अखण्ड़वति(र्त्ति) कृत....
५. ....न्या श्रीमत: श्रीपुरुसो(षो)त(त्त)मे ।। एतदी(द्दी)प:(पं)
६. स्वनिष्पती(त्ति)वम्भवती(ति) ।। जलखण्ड़वी(वि)स(ष)य[म]
७. ध्यवती:(र्त्ती) मालुदग्राम[नि]वासिना श्रीक(सिद्ध)-
८. पूपस्य[2] चोड़गङ्गस्य दानग्र(ग्रा)हकानपि च-
९. न्द्रार्क प्रदीपनिर्वाहकानां।। माढ पाञ्च ५।।

---

(1) The inscription is fragmented. It was first noticed by the author himself in 1958, and then after a long time the deplastering work was under-taken by the Department of Archaeological Survey of India. The total number of inscriptions, discovered at present is 61.
(2) It may also be read as *'Śrī Karpūrapurasya'*

No 16
Notes

This inscription is on the eastern side of the wall of the Nṛsiṃha Temple. The script used in it belongs to the North-East-Indian-Kutila type. The language is Sanskrit but due to the damage of a portion of the epigraph, some lines in the beginning, containing the date is not traceable; but the *Aṅka* year of Choḍagaṅgadeva makes it clear that it was engraved some time after the 50th *Aṅka* year (=1126) A.D.[1]

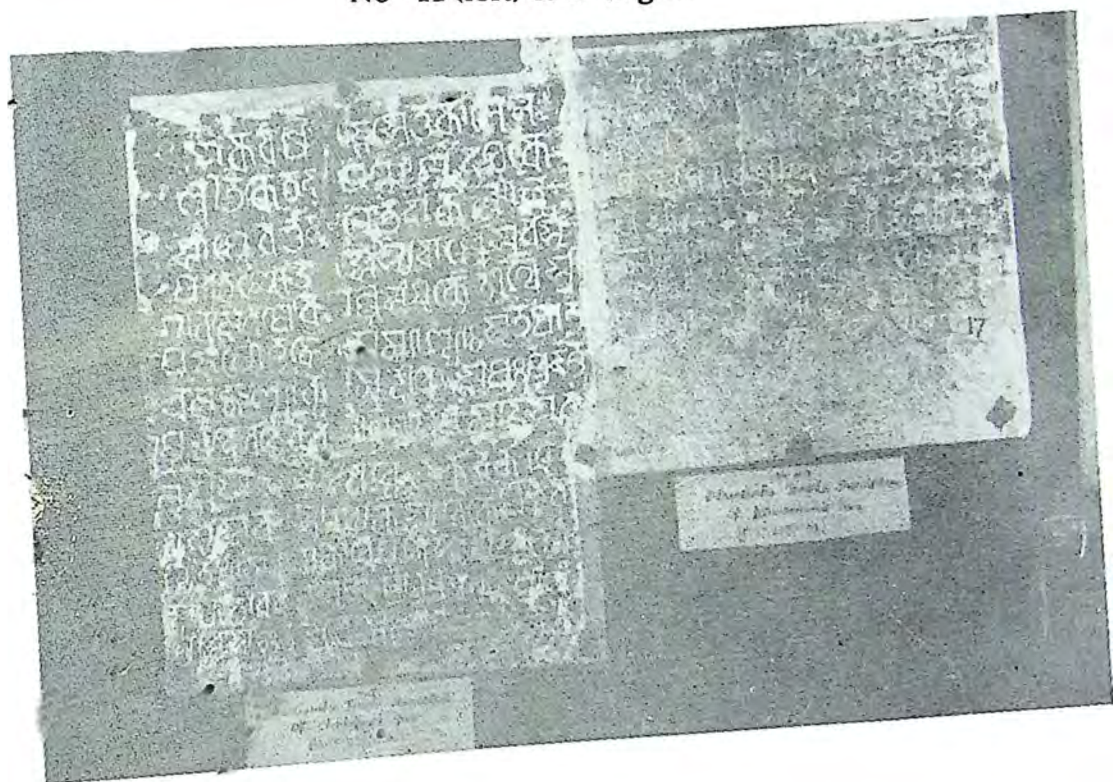
The inscription states that the King Choḍagaṅga has granted five Mādhas to the residents of Māluda-grāma of Jaḷakhaṇḍa-Viṣaya, to the grantees who received from Śrī Choḍagaṅga for supply of oil to burn an *Akhaṇḍa-Dīpa* in the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama.

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(1) This inscription was first noticed by the author in 1958 and published in the *Inscriptions of Orissa,* Vol. III, Pt. i, P.37 While deciphering the inscription from the original, I came to conclusion that the 58th *Aṅka* year of Choḍagaṅga was mentioned. Actualy the reading should be *'Pañca-āḍa'*

Plate No. XXI

No - 11 (left) & 17 (right)



No. 17
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] स्वस्ति [॥] श्रीकामार्न(र्ण्ण)वदेवस(स्य) वी(वि)जयरा-
२. (ज्ये) सम्वत(त्)५ मी(मि)थुनमास क्रि(कृ)ष्णपक्ष
३. प(प्र)तिपदा सोमवारे भारद्वाजसगो-
४. त्रा सूरपोतनाम्ना ॥ तस्य भार्या नक-
५. प(पा) श्रीपुरुसो(षो)त्म(त्तम)देवस्य दि(दी)पदत(त्त)-
६. मालाकार स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठि जयराज(जं) मधुपुन-
७. पुरेषु [म] द्वात्रिंस(श)[त] माणं स्थित सर्व(र्वा)-
८. [न] माड़त्रयं ॥ आ[च]न्द्रार्क थ(स्था)ई (यी) अख-
९. ण्ड़दीपं दातुं ॥

Potu, the donor, is probably the same man whose name is mentioned in some inscriptions of Kaliṅga-deśa. (Vide Ins. Or. Vol.III, pt. i, pp. 138, and 165.

No 17
Notes

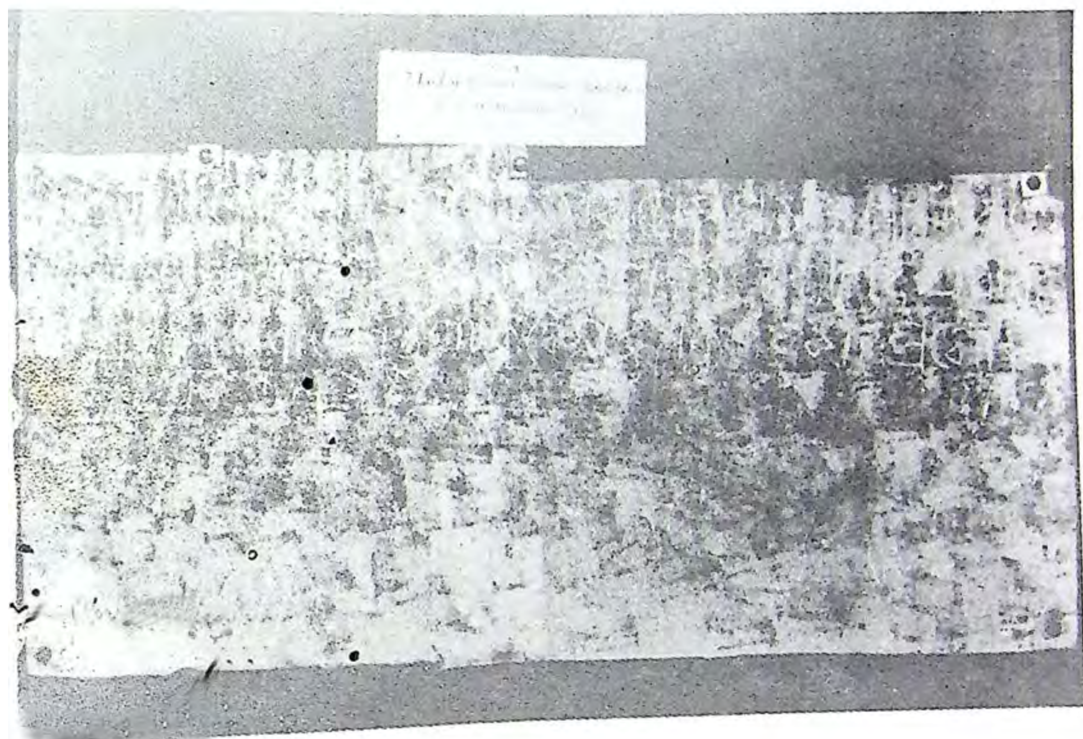
The inscription belongs to the temple of Nṛsiṃha, fixed on the outer wall of southern side. The script is of North-East-Indian Kutila type. The language of the inscription is erroneous Sanskrit-prose. The measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is 14 by 10 inches.

The inscription records that one Surapotu (1) of *Bharadvāja gotra* and his wife Nakapā have granted thirty-two *Māṇas* (of land) in Madhupura (including) three *Mādas* (gold coin) in total to Jayarāja Śreṣṭhi, the *Māḷākāra*, for installation of a perpetual lamp in the victorious reign of Kāmārṇavadeva, in Samvat *(Aṅka)* 5, and in the month of Mithuna, the first *tithi (pratipada)* of the dark fortnight, Monday. The lamp should burn till the existence of the moon and the sun.

---

(1) Surapotu's name is mentioned in the Temple of Suryanārāyaṇa (the Sūr... Ārṣavalli village of Āndhra Pradeśh (Śrīkākulaṃ Dt.). Surapotu has t... *Śrīkaraṇa* and *Rāja-pādihasta* (vide-*Ins. Or.* Vol. III, Pt. i, p-138).

No - 18



No 18

Text

१. [श्रीम]त(तो) राघवदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्ये सम्वत् ३[1] श्रीमार्कण्डे-

२. [श्व]रस्य ....दुई कवड़ि पण तिनि अखण्ड़ दि(दी)प वारह

३. [कालिकाले] नितर्ण[2] करै गङ्गाकुहद (?) सहस्र[3] गोसह-

४. [स्रेकदान] ....कलाइ ॥

---

(1) The third Śrāhi of Rāghavadeva corresponds to A.D. 1158.

(2) Read 'nistaraṇa'

(3) According to a tradition, near the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara, there was a huge cow-shed (*go-śālā*) where a lac of cows were nourished. A big tank near that shed was excavated for the animals, which tank was considered as a holy *Tirtha*. It is believed that many *Rsis* (sages) including a renounced *muni*, Mārkaṇḍa, were living in that holy *Āśrama*. Mārkāṇḍa-Muni became *amara* by the grace of Lord Śiva. A statue of the story is exhibited in that temple.

(1)

No 18

Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara and fixed to the right side of inner entrance wall. The script is of North-East-Indian-Kutila type. The language is classical Oriya mixed with a few *Sanskrit-vibhakti.*

The inscribed portion of the slab measures 35" X 7"

The inscription is not clear and readable in some lines. It states that in the third Saṃvat *(Aṅka)* year of the King Rāghavadeva, (1) an *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* (perpetual-lamp) was installed at the temple of Mārkaṇ-deśvara for which........ two and three *Paṇas* of *Kavaḍi* (*kauḍi or Kapardaka*) was granted *'Bāraha'* (twelve) (?) ....(and) to escape (from the stain of) *Kaḷi-kāḷa*, a thousand cows have been granted at Gaṅga-ku-hada (?) He made a *Gosahasra-Mahā-dāna (2).*

---

(1) Rāghavadeva is the son of Choḍagaṅgadeva who ruled after his elder brother Kāmārṇavadeva,. Rāghavadeva ruled from 1158 to 1170 A.D. (vide *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, P. Appendix-XXIX)

(2) A detailed summary of the *Gosahasra-Māhā-dāna* is given briefly by Ī V e *(Vide-H.D.S.* Vol. 2, Pt. II, P 874)

Plate No - XXIII

No - 19



No. 19
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] स्वस्ति सा(शा)काब्द स्वस्तिश्री अन्य(न)ङ्गभी-
२. मदेवश्य(स्य) प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराये(ज्ये) समत(स्त)श्रा-
३. हि १५ आसा(षा)ढसु(शु)द्ध ५[1] [मी] गुरुवारें (रे) श्रीकरणसुरु-
४. सेनापतिकु भूमिदत(त्त)[॥] श्रीपुरू(रु)षोत्तमदे[व]-
५. स्याङ्क ७३ (?) नैवेद्यप[दार्थ] चाउल को(कु)ञ्चा १
६. [ह]रणीपड़ा[2] भूमि॰ मा(म)हादेवपाढ़ीङ्क गोचरे ( )
७. दधि घृत ताम्वोल व्यञ्जन समेते दत्तभूमि वाटि ३[3]

---

(1) It is the day of *Hera-pañcami*, one of the auspicious day when the cars of Śrī Jagannāth, Subhadrā and Baḷadeva are turned backward for return journey.

(2) Dr. D. C. Sircar reads *'Chagopaḍā'* for *'Haraṇīpaḍa'* which is not correct. (See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, P 97 ff.)

(3) Some orthographical errors are shown hereunder :

Rāya < Rājā
Asāḍha < Āṣāḍha
Gurubāren < Gurubāre
Date < Datha
Suddha < Śuddha
Koñcā < Kuñcā
Tāmboḷa < Tāmbuḷa

No. 19
Notes

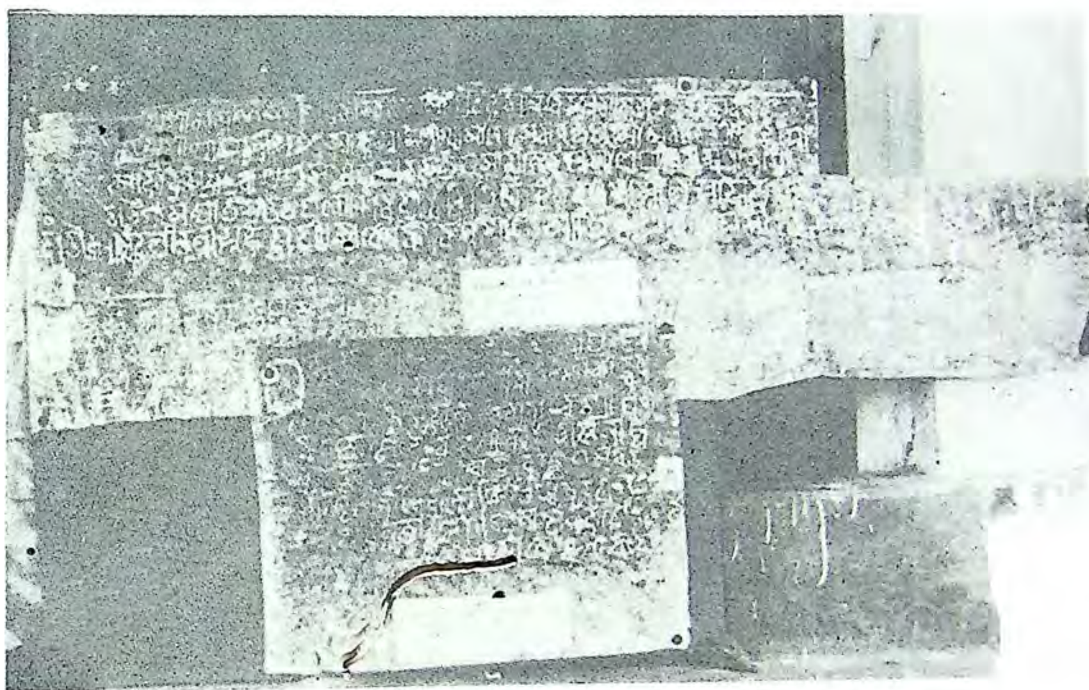
The inscription belongs to the temple of Pātāḷeśvara, fixed in the right side wall of the second entrance. The script is of North-East-Indian Kutila type. Its language is Oriya mixed with a few Sanskrit words. The inscribed portion of the slab measures 30" X 13"

The inscription records that in the 15th victorious reigning year of Anangabhīmadeva and in the month of *Āṣādha*, and the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, thursday, Śrīkaraṇa Suru Senāpati has endowed a piece of land, measuring 3 *Bāṭi* in Haranīpaḍā in Śrī-Puruṣottama's 73 Aṅka (?) (1) (for supply of) the materials (to be used for) *Naivedya (bhoga)* of rice one Koñca (produced from the lands at) Haraṇīpaḍā under Mahādeva Pāḍhi's knowledge to supply curd, ghee, tāmbola and curry *(vyañjana)* etc.

(1) The *Aṅka* of Śrī-Puruṣottama (deity) indicates that the suzereign right was transfered in the name of the deity by Anaṅgabhīmadeva, (who as *Rāuta*, a representative officer, as stated in some other inscription)

Plate No - XXIV

No -20 (below) and 23 (above)



No. 20

Text

१. स्वस्ति [।।] श्रीअनङ्गभीमदेवस्य प्रव[र्द्ध]मा-
२. [न]वीये; सम्वत स्राही २९ शाकाब्दानां
३. ११५७ कुम्भसु(शु)क्ल ७ रवी(वि)वारे श्रीपु-
४. कु(रु)षोत्म(त्तम) देवङ्कयी[1] कीर्त्ति वासनाय-
५. क दत्तभूमी(मि) कुराङ्ग वाटि १ मुरड़
६. वाटि १ नौ(नै)वेद्य कोञ्चि २ घृत दधी(धि) [पक्व]
७. व्यञ्जन ताम्बो[ल]पानदान दर्वो(द्रव्यो)त(त्त)(मं)
८. पाठीमहादेवगोचरे दत (त्त)म् [।।]

---

1) The word *'Purușottamadevanku'* a classical Oriya word which should be read as *'Purușottamadevasya'* in Sanskrit.

No. 20
Notes

The inscription is in the temple of Pātāḷeśvara, fixed on the wall at the left side of the second entrance. The script used in it is of North-East-Indian-Kutila type. The language is Oriya mixed with Sanskrit. The inscribed portion of the slab measures 17" X 9.5"

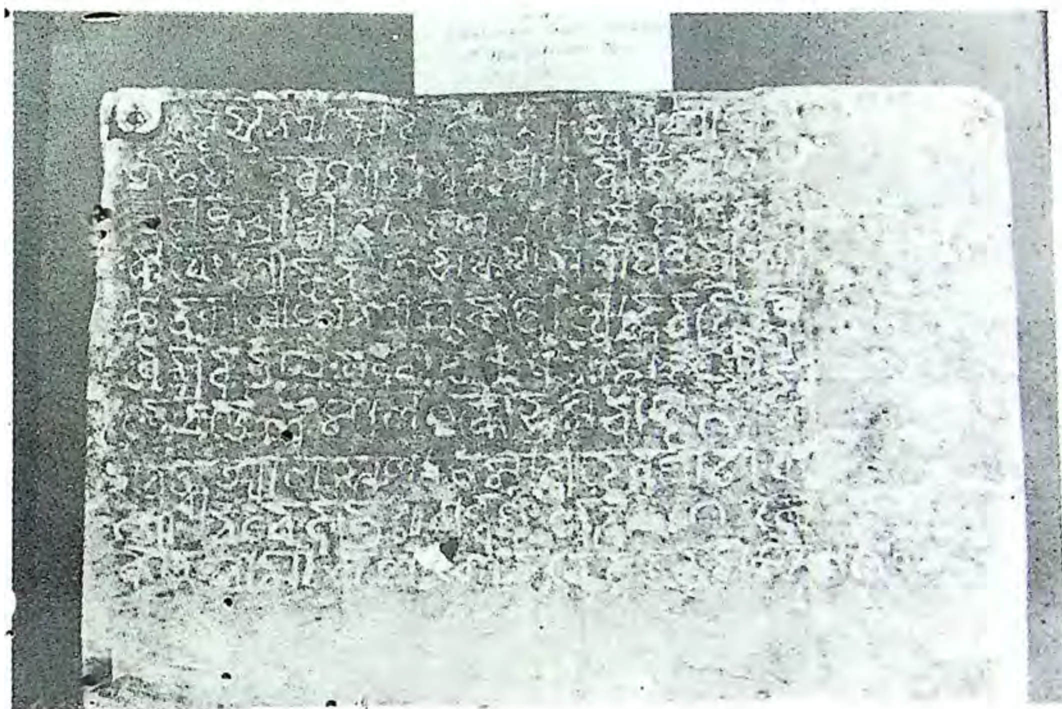
The inscription records that in *Śrāhī* 29 of the increased and victorious reign of Anaṅgabhīmadeva (and) in the Śaka year 1157 in the month of Kumbha, in the 7th day of the bright fortnight, Sunday (1) one *Bāṭi* of *Muraḍa* or fertile land and one *Bāṭi* of *Kurāṅga* (?) land was granted to Kīrtivāsa Nāyaka for *Naivedya (Pūjā)* of Śrī-Purusottamadeva with two *Koñchās* of *ghee*, curd, *Tāmboḷa*, and drinking materials, which should be supplied by Mahādeva Pāḍhī.

---

(1) It is the sacred day of *'Tiḷa-Saptamī'* when pilgrims visit at the Chandrabhāgā at Konārk to take sacred bath and to make *darśana* Sun at the sea-shore. After performance of *Tiḷa-Tarpaṇa* (oblation of *tiḷa* or sesamum in honour of *Pitṛs* (ancestors), the pilgrims then visit of the Sun-god.

Plate No - XXV

No - 21



No. 21
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] स्वस्ति शाकाब्दे ११५८ स्वस्ति श्रीअनी (नि)
२. [य]क्र(ङ्क)यि [भी]मदेवश्य(स्य) प्रवर्द्धमान वी(वि)जयराये(ज्ये)
३. समत(स्त) श्राही ३१[1] फाल्गुण(न) कृष्ण १ सु(शु)क्र-
४. वारें(रे) श्रीकरणसुक्र(रु)सेनापती(ति) आ-
५. इउ[2] कामार्थे[3] श्रीपुरुषोत्म(त्तम)देवङ्कै नै-
६. वेद्य दत(त्त) घृत दधी(धि)व्यञ्जनताम्वोल सही(हि)-
७. ते चाउल माण १ कै भ(भू)मी वाटि १
८. रावङ्ग आलसणा [कु] मा(म)हादेवपाढीर
९. गोचरे दतः(त्त) ॥ गन्धफुलहार १० कै
१०. कालुआ मालुणी गोचरे दत(त्त) भूमि माण १०[4]*

---

(1) According to No. 23, Anaṅgabhīmadeva's 39th *Aṅka*-year falls in Śakābda 1158 (1236 A.D.). Therefore, how can his 31st *Aṅka*-year will correspond to the same Saka-year? It must, therefore, be corrected with the help of other grants.
(2) Read- In the Oriya language it may be read Āyu.
(3) The ... Śrī Puruṣottama" is an Oriya term denoting *devoṅku*. The donor-Suru S... mentioned in an inscription of Śrī-Kūrma-Temple (Vide *Ins. Or* Vol. ... No. 77.)
... nographic error is many in this inscription.
... inscription was edited by Dr. D. C Sircar in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX, pp. 202-3. A few ... erence, in our reading is noticed in Dr. Sircar's reading.

No. 21
Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Pātāḷeśvara, fixed on the wall of its second entrance. The script belongs to the North-East-Indian-Kutila type. The language is Oriya. The inscribed portion of the slab measures 20" X 14.5"

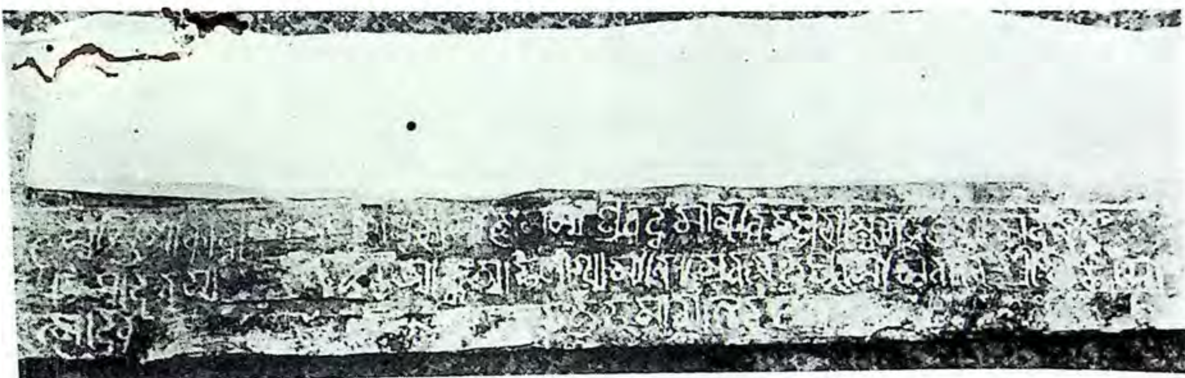
The inscription records that in the Śaka year 1158 (and) Anaṅgabhīmadeva's auspicious and victorious reigning year 31, in the month of *Phālguṇa*, first *tithi* during the dark (fortnight), friday, the Śrīkaraṇa Suru Senāpati (1) has granted one *Bāṭi* of land at Rāvaṅga Āḷa saṇā (village) (to supply of) rice, measuring one *Māṇa* including *ghee*, curd, milk for (preparation of *Vyañjana*) (and) *tāmbu*[illegible] for *Naivedya (Pūjā)* of Śrī-Puruṣottama which will increase the life (of the donor). Also, he has ascribed to take this to Mahādeva Pāḍhi. Another donation of his was made to Kāḷuā Māluṇi, 10 *Māṇas* of land to supply ten flower garlands of fragrance to the deity.

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(1) The donor of this inscription is known from another inscription of the temple of Śrīkūrmeśvara at Śrīkūrmaṃ (in the Śrīkākulaṃ District of Āndhrā Prade[illegible] 1241 A.D. i.e. eight years after the present inscription. (vide *Ins. Or.*. Vol, [illegible] i, No. 77)

Plate No.- XXVI

No - 22



No 22
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] शाकाब्दे ११५८ श्रीपुरुसो(षो)त्तमस्य प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये राउत्त श्रीमदनङ्ग-

२.(1) भि(भी)मदेवस्य ....अङ्क(ङ्के) अभिलिख्यमाने ॥ मकरकृष्णसोमवारे श्रीपुक्र(रु)सो(षो)-

३. [illegible] [२] .....दत्त भूमि वाटि ६

४. [॥]

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(1) The word *Puruṣottma*, joining two consonant together, is also used in some other inscriptions. It was an old system of writing in the classical Oriya language. For the use of this system of writing see Nos. 20, 21 and 23.

No 22
Notes

The inscription belongs to the temple of Pātāḷeśvara, fixed in the wall of the inner chamber. The script is of North-East-India-Kutila type. The language is Sanskrit. The inscribed portion of the slab measures 12" X 4"

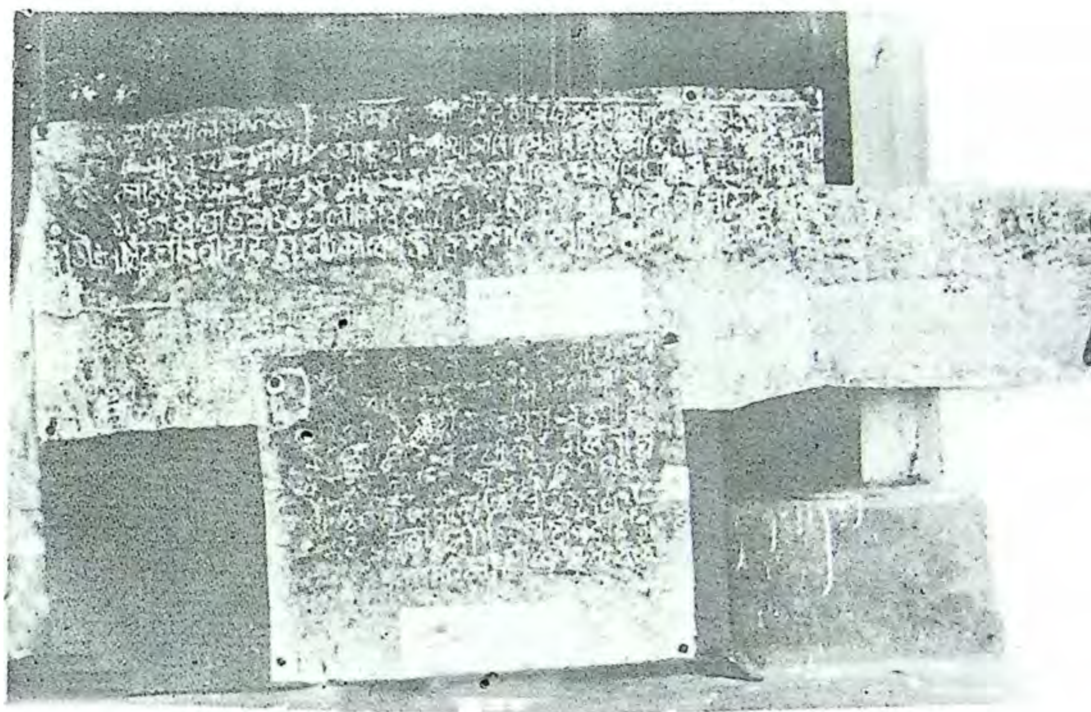
The inscription records that in the Śaka year 1158, in the prosperous kingdom of Śrī-Puruṣottama, (1) (His) *Rāutta* Śrīmat Anaṅgabhīmadeva's ....*Aṅka* year, the month of *Makara* (and) in the dark fortnight...............Śrī Puruṣottamadeva.................donated 2 *Bāṭis* of land.

This inscription has been edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p.99.

(1) This is the first inscription which states that the Kingdom (Trikaḷiṅga) was under the possession of Śrī-Puruṣottama, and the king Anaṅgabhīma was an humble servant *(Rāuta)* under Him.

Plate No - XXVII

No - 23 (above) and 20 (below)



No.23
Text

१. सिद्धम् [॥] स्वस्ति शाकाब्दा ११५८ श्रीपुरुसो(षो)त्तमस्य प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये राउत श्रीमदनङ्ग-

२. भीमदेवस्य ऊनत्रिंस(श) ३९[1] (?) अङ्के अभिलिख्यमाने ॥ मकर कृष्ण सोमवारे श्रीपुरुसो(षो)-

३. त्म(त्तम)देवङ्क्र[2] प(प्र)दात्त(त)व्य खण्ड़साईसपु(पू)र्वदत(त्त)भूमि वाटि द्वय माण पाञ्च वीसुपाठी गो-

४. चरै(रे) ग्रामक्षात यउठपलीनैवद्यार्थं श्रीघृतव्यजनदधिताम्बोलसहिते प्रदात्....

५. दां तोकनार्थं[3] हली चक्री सुभद्रा[4] पीञ्छोञ्च कौत्रू (?) धर्माण(न)स्या तस्मा एत [द] र्थ ....[5]

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(1) The *Anka* written in the numerical symbol is 39 while it is written in the word as '*unatriṃśa*' = 29.

(2) The word *Puruṣottamadevankra* for Puruṣotamadevankara is a classical Oriya system of writing. This type of joining two consonant letters together was used in Oriya language upto the 15th century. In an inscription of Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam, the Gajapati king Kapilendradeva's engraver has followed this system (Vide *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 150)

(3) The word 'dāntokanārtham' is not intelligible.

(4) This is an inscription in which the trinity, Haḷi, Cakrī and Subhadrā are mentioned.

(5) This inscription was edited by Dr. D.C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 201-2 and re-produced by the author in the *Ins. Or* Vol. V, Pt.i, P.112.

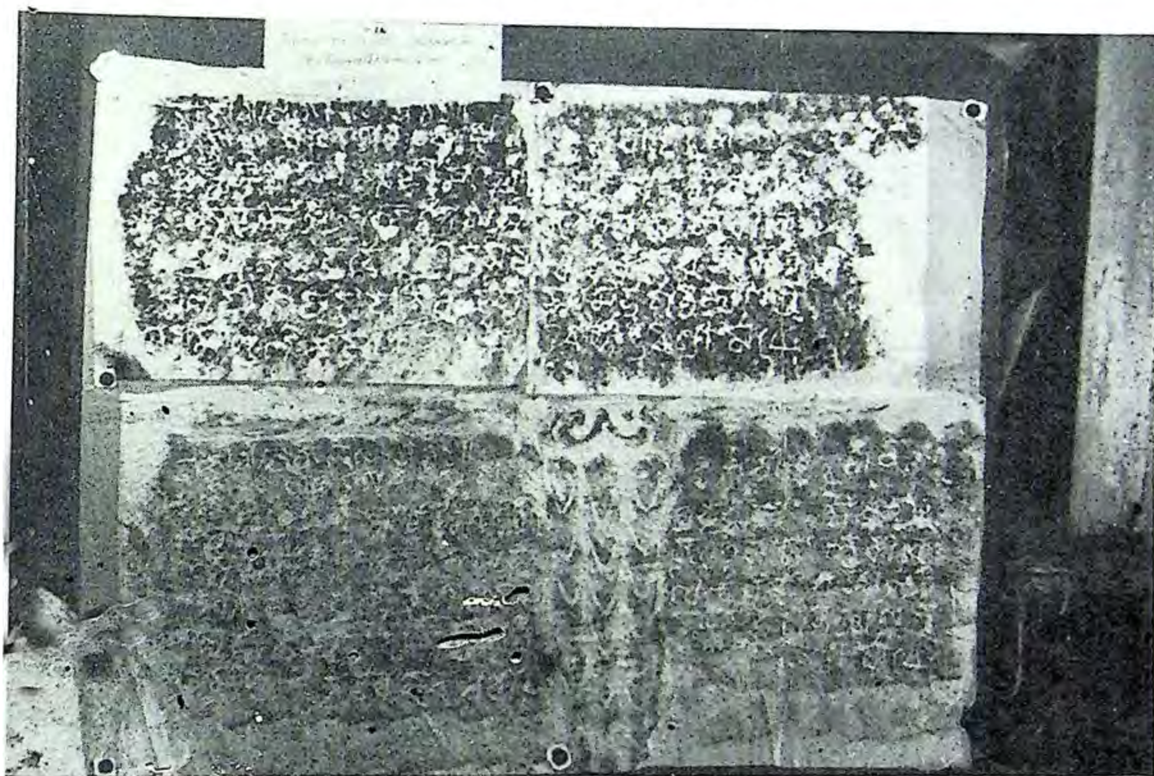
No. 23
Notes

The inscription is found in the temple of Pātāḷeśvara, fixed on the left side wall of the second entrance. The script is, as usual, belongs to N.E.I.K.type. The measurement of the inscribed portion of the slab is about 36" X 7"

The inscription records that in the Śaka year 1158, it is written in the 39th *Aṅka* of Śrī-Anaṅgabhīmadeva in the Kingdom of Lord Śrī-Puruṣottama, in the month of *Makara*, dark-fortnight, Monday, for grant of a plot of land, measuring 2 *Bāṭis* and five *Māṇas*, in the village of Khaṇḍa-Saīsa's east under supervision of Bisu Pāḍhi for *Naivedya* (adoration). A village named Jeuṭha-Pali, was granted for *Ghruta-vyañjana*, curd and *Tāmboḷa*.......,........for the *Pūjā* of Haḷī (Baḷabhadra), Cakrī (Śrī-Puruṣottama) (and) Subhadrā, to acquire religious merit (called) *Kaurudharma* under *Piñchoñca* (fanning service ?)

Plate No - XXVIII

No - 24 (above & below)



(First two lines belong to some other Inscription)

No. 24
Text

१. स्वस्ति [॥] श्री अनङ्गभीमदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमानविजय [रा]
२. ये(ज्ये) सम्वत ३७ वैशाखमा [स] कृ १२ मं(म)ङ्गलवारे
३. श्रीबलभद्रदेव श्रीकमलाक्षदेवङ्क[1] अमृत-
४. मणहीकी(कि) [2]पड़ा दातव्यं द्वयस्वामि भगत च्छ्री(श्री) [क] णलुलु
५. महामाण्ड़लिक आन्धवरविषयर भितर ग्रामरे[3]

---

(1) This is the only inscription in the temple of Nṛsiṃha which mentions two names, Baḷabhadradeva and Kamaḷākṣadeva (Kṛṣṇa) whom the donee *Śrī-Karaṇa* , a *Mahāmāṇḍaḷika* of Āndhavara-Viṣaya, has devoted.

(2) The village of Āndhavaraṃ is situated on the bank of the Vaṃśadhārā River in the Āndhrāpradeśh at the District of Śrīkākulaṃ.

(3) The village of Āndhavaraṃ is an important historical place of Kaḷiṅga-Maṇḍaḷa from which village some early Gaṅga king's copperplate grants have been discovered (Vide *Ins. Or.* Vol. I, Pt. ii, pp.1-15) and Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 38-42 ff. One of the grants belongs to the *Trikaliṅgadhipati* Indravarman of the early Gaṅga-Dynasty.

No. 24
Notes

The inscription is in the temple of Nṛsiṃha, fixed in the Southern wall at afloral-base under the Varāha shrine. The script belongs to N.E.I.K. type.

The language is Oriya mixed Sanskrit. The measurement of inscribed portion of the slab is 25" X 8"

The inscription records that in the 37th *Saṃvat (Aṅka)* of Śri-Anaṅgabhīmadeva's victorious year, in the month of Vaiśākha, the 12th *tithi* of the dark-fortnight, in Tuesday a hemlet (Paḍā) in the district (Viṣaya) namedĀndhavarafor *Amṛta-maṇohī (Bhoga)* of Śrī-Baḷabhadradeva and Śrī-Kamaḷākṣadeva (Śrī-Puruṣottama), the two deities by *Śrī-Karaṇa* Lullu, the Mahā-Māṇḍaḷika of Āndhavara-Viṣaya who was a loyal *(bhakta)* of theGods.

Plate No - XXIX

No - 25 (below)

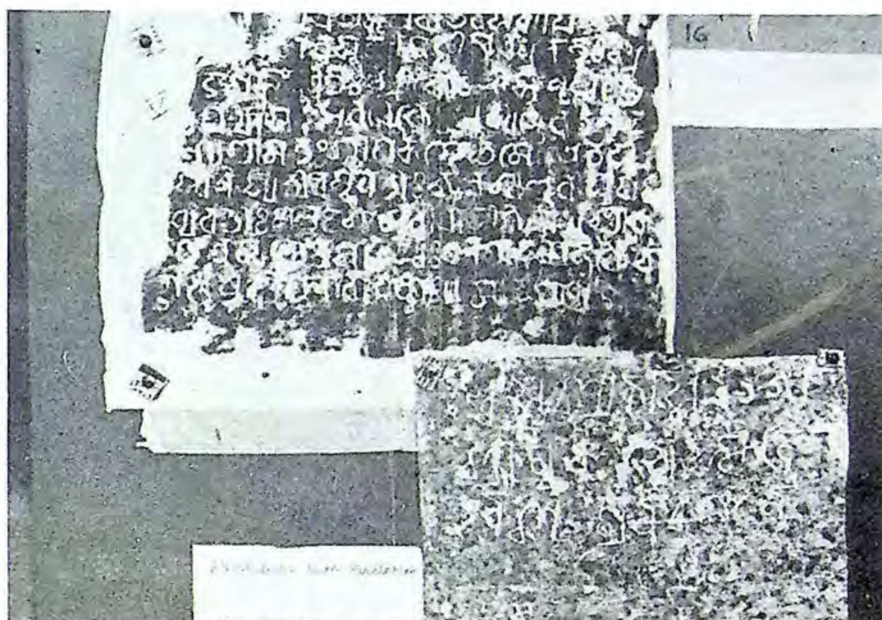


Plate No - XXX



No. 25
Text

१. स्वस्ति [॥] श्री शाकाब्द ११५८
२. श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे दे
३. वश(स्य) प्रवर्द्धमान.....
४.
५.
६. ....सस [1]

(1) Some letter in the last three lines have been obliterated.

No 25
Notes

The inscription is of a wall of the temple of Pātāḷeśvara. The script of this inscription is usual belong to the N.E.I.K. type.

It is a small broken epigraph, contained only three lines which could be read.

The size of the inscribed portion is 13" X 6"

The inscription is recorded in the Saka year 1158 (1236A.D.) and the *Pravardhamāna* (regnal year) of Lord Puruṣottama......*

There are some letters under the third line which have been completely obliterated.

Plate No - XXXI

No - 26

No. 26
Text

१. [श्री] शुभमस्तु [॥] शकाब्द १६६७
२. श्रीकृष्णः ॥ शकाब्दे ऽग्निरसत्त्र्वग्रशिखे[1]
३. रत्ने व्यधापयत् ॥ मार्कण्डेयह्रदात्प-
४. ङ्कोद्धारं सोपानमण्डपो ॥ हरेकृ-
५. ष्णेन सिंहेन कीर्त्तिचन्द्रनृपयस(श) [॥]

---

(1) The expression of the Śakābda in the second line is not correct. The first word is Agni-3, then comes *Rasa*=6 after this probably Ṛtu=6 and finally the word graśikhe or *Śaśi* and *Khe* -1 and 0.

No. 26
Notes

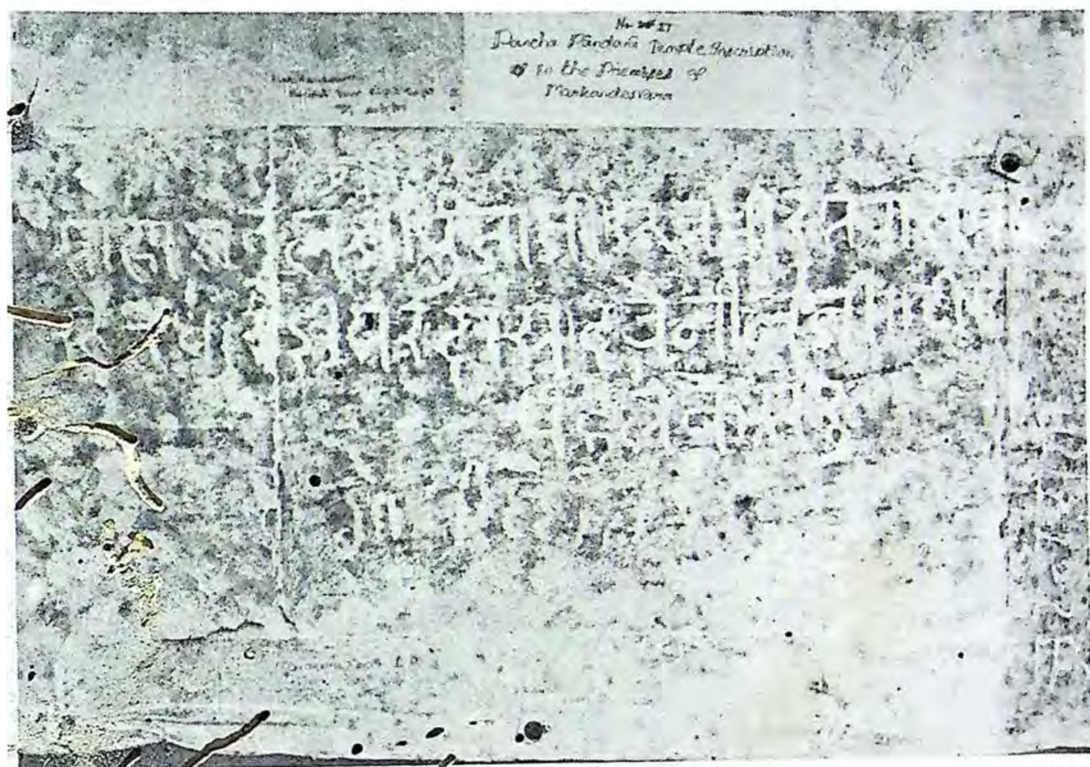
This inscription is in the top of the main gate of Gopīnātha Temple within the compound of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. The script used in it is the Modern Oriya and the language is Sanskrit. The size of the inscription is unusually large i.e. 30.5" X 14"

This inscription records that in the Saka year *Agni* (=3) *Rasa* (=6), *Ṛtu* (=6) and Śaśi (=1). So it is Śakābda 1663 which is equal to A.D. 1741. The first line of a verse is erroneously written although the date in the first line clearly mentions 'Śakābda 1667 which is equal to A.D. 1745. According to this inscription, a Rājā named Harekṛṣṇa Siṃha has cleaned the filth *(paṅka)* from the tank of the *'Mārkaṇḍeya-hrada'* and built the steps into it. He also built a *Mandapa* (pavilion) for pilgrims who visit to this sacred tank.

From the name of the Rājā who calls himself (Kīrti-candra' (moon of glorious deed) is probably belonged to some royal family.

Plate No - XXXII

No - 27



No. 27
Text

१. साहा सामन्त श्रीमुंजाजी[1], सूत्रधार सगरांस
२. सूत्रधार भीमनदास दिवे नांनजी ॥
३. महल केसन्तं [॥]

---

1. The inscription is in the Pañcapāṇḍava-Temple, a side temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple. The former temple is so named because there are five *Śiva-liṅgas* installed in it.

This additional temple seems to have been constructed by a Marahaṭṭā Chief called Nānaji through his Minister named Muñjāji who employed two masons *Sūtradhāras* named Sagarāṃśa and Bhīmanadāsa, for building also a chaultry for *Santhus* or *Sādhus* (hermits).

No. 27
NOTES

The inscription is found in the wall of the temple of Pañca-pāṇḍava (although there are five Śiva Liṅgas in a group). It is within the compound of the Mārkaṇḍesvara Temple. The script is Deva-nagari mixed with some Bengali scripts.

The inscription is not clear although three lines could be deciphered which states that one *Sāhā-Sāmanta* named Śrī Muñjāji (has appointed) two masons *(Sūtradhāras)* named *Sūtradhāra* Sagarāṃsa and *Sūtradhāra* Bhīmana Dāsa, for construction of a chaultry to be used by *Saṅthas* (sages) in the name of "Nānajī-Mahal". Most probably Muñjājī was a Marahaṭṭā Chief posted at Puri when the country was under the Marahaṭṭās (1751-1803 A.D.)

PART - II

The Origin of Sri Purusottama Jagannath

PURI, THE ANCIENT SEAT OF LORD ŚRĪ-PURUṢOTTAMA

Puri is the headquarters of district of Orissa, lying between 19°.28' and 20°.35' North Latitude and 84°.29' East Longitude. The name "Puri" has been derived from "Puruṣottama Kṣetra" which is the seat of Lord Puruṣottama. His temple was located on the sea shore before he was removed to a newly built temple to a higher-ground-level in or about the 10th century A.D.

Murāri, the author of the *Anargharāghava-Nāṭaka*, has written in the *prastāvanā*

"भो भो लवणोदवेलावनाली-तमालतरुकन्दलस्य
त्रिभुवनमौलिमण्डन-महानीलमणेः कमला-कुच-कलश-
केली-कस्तूरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य
यात्रायां सभासदः......

O ye, the noblemen, the visitors of Lord Puruṣottama's *yātrā*, (Car-Festival?) at the coast of the Salt-Ocean where there is a forest of *tamāla-trees*, for *Darśana* of the big blue sapphire the Supreme Gem *(Mahā-Nila-Maṇi)*, adorned on the forehead of the three World's creator; whose body is refreshed being pressed by Kamaḷā's pitcher-like-breasts.

The time of Murāri may be attributed to the 10th century A.D., although M.Winternitz, suggests A.D. 1050-1135.[1] From Epigraphical source it is known that Lord Puruṣottama and his wife Kamaḷā (Laxmi) both have been shifted from the sea-shore to their own house (Temple). The relevent verse in Dāsgobā plates[2] runs as follows

"लक्ष्मी जन्मगृहं पयोनिधिरसौ संभावितस्य स्थिति-
र्नानासि श्वशुरस्य पूजित इति क्षीराब्धिवास ध्रुवम्।
निर्विण्णः पुरुषोत्तमः समुदितस्तद्धामलाभाद्रमा-
प्येतद् भर्त्तृगृहं वरं पितृगृहाद् प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता।"

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1. Winternitz, M., *H.I.L.*, Vol-III, p. 271.
2. Dāsagobā Copper plate Inscription of Rājarājadeva. (Vide., *Ep Ind.*, p.249)

The Sarasvatī-Temple Inscription of Maihar of Madhyapradesh, renders information regarding how a young boy, named Dāmodara, was drowned in the sea while taking bath and died looking at God Puruṣottama.

'समुद्रमज्जनान्नूनमोड्रेषु पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
दृष्ट्वा तवान्तिके भूयः पुराऽगच्छद्वयं शिशुः ।''

Dr. D.C. Sircār and V.S. Subramanyam, the joint editors of that inscription, say "It is now clear from the present record that the god (Puruṣottama) was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier'[3]

On Paleographical ground, the Inscription is attributed to the 10th century. Hence, it indicates that the temple of Puruṣottama was in Puri as long as the king Yayāti had not come to Utkala . So, a popular story is mentioned in *'Mādaḷā-Pāñji'* which states that at one time a Yavana King named Raktabāhu arrived at Puri through the sea-route when the image of Puruṣottama was removed to Baudh where he was burried under the earth for safety.

KING YAYĀTI, THE BUILDER OF NṚSIṂHA-TEMPLE

After lapse of a pretty long time, when king Yayāti occupied Utkaḷa and ruled over it, he searched for the image of Puruṣottama, burried under the earth in the Village of Gopali in the borders of Baudh. After discovery of the rotten image, he (Yayāti) constructed a new temple at Puri in which Lord Puruṣottama was re-installed.

From the inscriptions of the Bhañja-Kings of Dhṛtipura, we know that province *(Maṇḍala)* named Gāndharabāḍi was situated on the bank of the Mahānadī at a distance of 12 miles from Baudh. It is not known Gandharāḍi where Nīḷamādhava is worshipped. He was the ...g deity of those Bhañja kings who embraced Vaiṣṇavism. From

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...d. ,Vol-XXXV, (1963-64), p. 171. (verse-35).

Śatṛbhañja's two copper-plate-grants of Bhauma-Saṃvat-198 (A.D. 934)[4] we learn that his alience, the then declivitous Bhauma Rulers of Utkaḷa have suffered extinction of the male-line.

The ambitious and powerful king Yayāti-Mahāśivagupta (II) had acquired Utkaḷa that was suffering from interregnum for some years. He also occupied the country of Oḍra after defeating the Bhañja-Kings of Gandharāḍi-Maṇḍaḷa. Then, he shifted his capital from Suvarṇapura to Yayāti-Nagara on the bank of the Mahānadī. But, temporarily Suvarṇapura was captured by Śiḷā-Bhañja and his son, Durjaya-Bhañja of Dhṛtipura, who ruled in the first half of the tenth century.

According to the Baud Copper-Plate Inscription of Solaṇa Bhañja,[5] Durjaya Bhañja of Gandharāḍi-maṇḍaḷa could acquire the land of the Somavaṃśi-kings by producing valour and ruled there for a few years. The relevent verse runs as follows :

"यो मण्डलं गन्धरवाडिसंज्ञ-
मुत्पादयामास भुजो बलेन।
बलेन सोमोद्भवमुक्तमासीत्
स: श्रीशिलाभञ्ज उदारकीर्त्ति: ।।
तस्यात्मज: दुर्जयभञ्जनामा
नृपोऽवसत् स्वर्णपुरेऽन्वशाच्च।
यो मण्डलेशान्निजबाहुवीर्य्या-
दासीद्रणे शूरजनाऽग्रणीज्ञ: ।"

It is doubtful, if a subordinate-prince like Durjaya Bhañja could extend his rule on Somavaṃśī capital, Suvarṇapura, unless he was supported by an equally powerful king, fit to fight with Yayāti of Soma-Kula. Perhaps during that conflicting period, the Kāḷachuri-king Lakṣmaṇarāja's expedition against Dakṣiṇa-Kośaḷa was responsible for Yayāti's abdication of Suvarṇapura.

Lakṣmaṇarāja had taken a Kāḷīya-Image, adorned with gold and Jewels, from the Oḍra-King, as stated in the Bilhāri stone-Inscription of the Kāḷachuri-King, Yuvarāja-II. Perhaps, Lakṣmaṇarāja's expedi-

For Bhauma Saṃvat see *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-XI, No. 2, p. 100-108

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol- XXVI, p. 276-279 ff.

tion of Dakṣina-Kośaḷa was also successful when his contemporary Oḍra-King (Durjaya-Bhañja) joined with him by presenting a valuable Kāḷīya image. But, he did not present the principal deity, Nīḷa-Mādhava, the titular god of his family, installed at Gandharabāḍi; after the Oḍra king was defeated, he played treachery against Yayāti. Being a subordinate prince when Durjaya Bhañja was capitulated by the enemy, Yayāti and his father left their capital, Suvarṇapura, and transferred their administration to Utkaḷa by establishing a new city called "Yayāti-nagara", on the bank of the Mahānadī. For a short period, however, Durjaya and his successors could stay in Suvarṇapura, but left it no sooner Yayāti's grandson, Yayāti (II) had re-captured Dakṣhiṇa-Kośaḷa.

According to the Brahmeśvar-temple Inscription,[6] Yayāti-II's second name was Chanḍihara. After he ruled over Dakṣina Kośaḷa and Utkaḷa jointly and successfully accomplished a great '*Vijaya-Yātrā*' (Victorious expedition), he devoted the latter part of his life in religious affairs. He must have constructed the great Liṅgarāja-temple at Ekāmra -Kṣetra, a renowned Śaiva-Kṣetra. His wife, Koḷāvati-Devī, has also built the temple of Brahmeśvara at the same Śaivakṣetra. Perhaps, king Yayāti, in honour of his relative *Parama-Vaiṣṇavi* Tribhuvana Mahādevī or her descendents who worshipped Viṣṇu, might have built another temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama at 'Śrī-Kṣetra'. He installed the goddess Hara- Chanḍi' in a temple at Puri to commemorate his second name 'Chanḍihara' Like wise, Choḍagaṅgadeva, after building the great Temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama, constructed a temple in his name as Choḍagaṅgeśvara in Kaḷiṅga and also he set up a street in his own name, called Chuḍaṅga-Sāhi in Puri. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi says : "the re-establishment of the shrine of Jagannāth at Puri with a temple built there was another great work of Yayāti-I". So, he infers that, 'that Yayāti would have fought with Śatrubhañja and ousted him from the Baudh region, or else it would not have been possible for him to build up the united kingdom of Kośaḷa and Utkaḷa.[7]

6. *Ins. O.*, Vol-III, pt-II, p. 26.
7. Dr. K. C. Panigrāhī, 'Chronology of the Bhauma-kāras and the Somavaṃśis of Orissa', p-41-42.

Although we cannot support his theory regarding identification of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-King Govinda (III) with Raktabāhu's expedition of Puri, we are not discarding the view that the second temple of Puruṣottama was built by Yayāti, which is perhaps the same temple called Nṛsiṃha-Temple, where several votive inscriptions are attached in the name of Puruṣottama only[8] Not even a single inscription, out of Sixty-one, discovered from that temple so far, is mentioning the name of Nṛsiṃha, although a little shrine of Nṛsiṃha is now seen in it which is not befitting for the size of the temple.[9] Apart from this, the disturbed order of the ten incarnated *(Avatāras)* of Viṣṇu, *Viz.* Matsya, Kachhapa, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana etc. The order of these shrines have been disturbed on the outer walls from western and northern sides of the temple. It indicates that the *Avatāra* figures were wrongly placed after Vāmana, This proposition is fully corroborated when after deplasteration, there appeared many inscribed slabs, fragmented and some partialy hidden under the masonry work. It reveals that the renovation of a part of the building was broken in the north and western sides.

There is no evidence to trace the circumstance under which and the time when the temple was broken and reconstructed. However, the last date so far as we have come across from these inscriptions, is A.D. 1241 (No.24), when Anaṅgabhīma-III, was the ruler.

We believe that the Nṛsimha Temple must have been repaired in or about the middle of the 13th century A.D. The presiding deities of this temple in 1241 A.D. are Baḷabhadra-deva and Kamaḷākṣadeva (Viṣṇu) for whose *Amṛta-Manohi (Bhoga)*, a Village *(Paḍā)* was granted by a *Mahāmaṇḍalika* of Āndhavara. Now, the question is whether the features of those two gods (Baḷabhadra and Kamaḷākṣadeva) were like that of the present Baḷadeva and Jagannātha ? Or they are like Baḷarāma and Kṛṣṇa or four armed shrine Mādhava, who was the most popular

8. The three images, namely Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā were installed in this temple in or about 1149-50 A.D. A detail discussion will be given in Vol - II.

9. According to the *Hayaśirṣa-Pañcarātra* ,a treatise, on the Viṣṇu temple construction, the dimension of temple and the form and size of the image which should be guided specific principles. (Vide, edited by Pandit B. Mohan, Varendra Research Society, Vol-I., (1956). This will be discussed later.

god in the 10th century ? We may cite here a few deities named Mādhava of that period (9th & 10th centuries), worshipped in different localities of Utkaḷa. They are named (1) Nīḷa-Mādhava of Gandharāḍi and Kaṇṭilo, (2) Loka-Mādhava of Śvetaka (Gañjām District) (3) Mugda-Mādhav, (4) Śveta-Mādhava of Puri and (5) Mādhava of Chaurāsi, in Puri District. They have been constructed by blue-granite stone for which sake He is generally called Nīḷa-Mādhava. He possesses four arms holding *Cakra* (Disc) and *Śankha* (Conch) in the upper right and left arms respectively and *Gadā* (mace) and *Padma* (Lotus) or *Varada* in the lower right and left. The godesses Lakṣmī and Sarasvati or Bhūdevī are standing on either sides of His.

A similar blue-granite image of about four and half feet high with four arms is seen just at the front-row of the Nṛsiṃha-temple; But, He is now called Satyanārāyaṇa, although he is resembling the figure of Mādhava (Nīḷa-Mādhava). We, therefore, assume that He was originally installed in the Nṛsiṃha-temple and called 'Puruṣottama'

TRANSFER OF ŚRĪ PURUṢOTTAMA TO ANOTHER TEMPLE

The disparity that appears in size of the temple and the image of Satyanārāyaṇa, where he is now seen,[10] prompts us that Satyanārāyaṇa was probably the same "Puruṣottama of Nṛsiṃha-Temple who was subsequently removed from his seat when a portion of the temple was decayed. Epigraphically, it is known that his seat in that temple remained undisturbed in between A.D. 1113 and 1242, which covers the reigning periods of Anantavarma-Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1148) Upto Anaṅgabhīmadeva - III's 37th Śrāhi or A.D. 1241. According to No. 24, one *Mahāmāṇḍaḷika* of Āndhavara Viṣaya has granted a *Paṭā* (hamlet) for *Amṛtamaṇohi* of the two gods, namely Śrī -Baḷabhadra Deva and Śrī-Kamaḷākṣadeva (Śrī-Puruṣottama) in the twelfth *tithi* of Vaiśākha when the 37th *Śrāhi* (A.D. 1241) of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-(II) was current. There are two Gaṅga-rulers named Anaṅgabhīmadeva-II and Anaṅgabhīma (III), the grandfather and grandson respectively.

10 According to the *Mādaḷā-Pāñji*, the old temple of Puruṣottama was demolished when the new one was constructed. (Vide-Prāchi edition, p-30). Perhaps it was done by Yayāti-I.

Anaṅgabhīma-II, had ruled the country only for eight years and his last Śrāhi is, therefore, counted ten, in the Gaṅga genealogy.

"दशवर्षाणि वीरोऽसौ निर्जिताराितमण्डलः।
अनङ्गभीमभूपालो धरित्रीं समपालयत्॥"

The 37th *Śrāhi* of Anaṅgabhīma must be assigned to no other king than the grandson of Anaṅgabhīma-II, who ruled in Utkaḷa for about 47 years i.e. A.D. 1211-1258. His 37th, *Śrāhi* must be 1241 A.D. as per the convention of *Aṅka*-era.[11] The *Mādaḷā-Pāñji* states that Anaṅgabhīma has constructed the great temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama-Jagannāth at Puri. But, from inscriptional evidence it is revealed that the temple was built by Anantavarma-Choḍagaṅgadeva.[12]

Anaṅgabhīma-III, who was a very powerful ruler and also a devotee of Śrī-Puruṣottama, had built another temple of the same god at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, situated in between two rivers, the Mahānadī and Kāṭhajoḍi. In the fort of Bārabāṭi there was the *Navataḷa-Prāsāda* or the Nine-Storied Royal Residence, attached to a military cantonment of Gaṅga-rulers. Therefore, we presume that the reference of the *Mādaḷā-pāñji* about Anaṅgabhīma as the constructor of the great Jagannāth-temple at Puri is not true, although he built another temple at his residence in Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka for Śrī-Puruṣottama. We will discuss this aspect later in detail. A Nṛsiṃha-temple Inscription of 1241 A.D. (No. 24) creates our curiosity to find in it the changed name of the deity from Puruṣhottama to Kamaḷākṣadeva' (husband of Kamaḷā) who is associated with his brother, Baḷabhadradeva. The latest date of the inscription in which Śrī-Purusottama is mentioned in that temple is 1150-51 A.D. (No.17), when an *Akhaṇḍa-dīpa* was installed for Śrī-Puruṣottama. It proves that Lord Puruṣottama was the presiding god of that temple atleast upto 1150-51 A.D. To make more study on this important issue, we should search into the historical evolve of religion from the beginning of the 12th century.

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11. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-V, No. 1 & 2, Appendix - Page-98.
12. *Mādaḷā Pāñji* (Utkala University Publication, 1969, 2nd edition) p-31,

CHODAGANGA'S ENTERPRISE IN POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

An inscription of the temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneśwar, Chodagaṅga had conducted *'Śiva-pūjā'*[13] after the conquest of Utkaḷa by defeating the Somavaṃśī king Karṇakeśarī in or about 1112 A.D. In the next year, he granted lands to Brāhmaṇas in Varāhavartthi of Kaḷiṅga.

Even after the defeat of Karṇakeśarī and the king of Veṅgi, the continuance of anarchy in the south, west and eastern regions of his dominion did not cease. So, he had to take adequate measure to end the disturbance in the newly acquired kingdoms which extended from the Gaṅgā in the north to the Godāvarī in the south. In the western-sector the Kāḷachuri king Ratnadeva (II), encroached a portion of Trikaḷiṅga, as stated in the Kharod-Inscription. Ratnadeva claims that he defeated Chodagaṅga and his commander, Gokarṇa, in a battle.[14] But, in Śakābda 1057 or A.D. 1135, Chodagaṅga could clear off his enemies from all sides *i.e.* West, North and East when he assumed the title *'Cakravarti'* (Emperor) and performed some religious functions at the rivers Gautamī (Godāvarī) and Bhāgīrathī-Gaṅgā to satisfy *Devas* (Gods), the *Ṛsis* (hermits), the *Pitṛs* (ancestors) and brāhmaṇas. The relevent passage from a Telugu Inscription[15] of the Temple of Śrī-Kūrmaṃ is quoted-below

> "शकाब्दां वुलु १०५७ नेंडु श्रीचोड़गङ्गदेव चक्रवर्त्ति
> पश्चिमोत्तर-पूर्वदेशमुल चल वेलनानि मोन साधिंचि
> गौतमी-भागीरथीगंगालुन्नु पुललु गडिवि देव-ऋषि-
> पितृ-ब्राह्मणुल त्रि(तृ)प्ति सोसिना चोडगङ्गदेवर...."

It proves that the country was not enjoying peace. So, Chodagaṅga had no opportunity to divert his attention from warfare till A.D. 1135, His

13. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol I, No-2, p-7, *Ins. Or* Vol-III, pt-1, p-63.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol-XXI, p-161.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol-V, No.- 1335., *Ins. Or.* Vol-III, Pt.-1, No-158

name has not been recorded in any of the inscriptions so far discovered from Puri-temples before A.D. 1126, although some of his officers were present at Puri. Their charities are recorded in the inscriptions of Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Nṛsiṃha, the earliest being A.D. 1114. It is, therefore, clear that Choḍagaṅgadeva sent some officers from Kaliṅga before he proceeded to the east for subjugation. It seems that upto the Mahānadī the country was made peaceful in A.D. 1127, when his *Śrāhi-Saṃvat* was officially recorded in the inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha-temple.

According to the inscription No. 6, a village called "Puraṇa-grāma" was newly situated in 1127 A.D. That village, according to Nāgari-copper-plate inscription of Anaṅgabhīma-III of A.D. 1230, was granted to many Brāhmaṇas and converted to a prosperous *Brāhmaṇ-Śāsana* at the bank of the Mahānadī.[16] We may, therefore, assume that Choḍagaṅga's subjugation upto the Mahānadī must have been accomplished in A.D. 1126, which was not done even after he gained Utkaḷa, as recorded by his grand son, Rājarājadeva in Dāsgova-Copper-Plate grant in A.D. 1198-99.

The relevent verse of that inscription is quoted below

"पूर्वस्यां दिशि पूर्वमुत्कलपतिं राज्ये निधायादभुतं
पश्चात् पश्चिमदिक्तटे विघटितं वेङ्गीशमप्येतयो: ।
ळक्ष्मीबन्धनमालिकामिव जयश्रीतोरणस्तम्भयो-
र्बध्नाति स्म समिद्धकीर्त्तिविभव: श्रीगङ्गचूडामणि: ।"

An inscription of Liṅgarāja-temple, dated in Śakābda' 1036 (A.D. 1114) is stating that Choḍagaṅgadeva had achieved victory in Utkaḷa before A.D. 1114. Then, why his *Śrāhi (Aṅka)* year was not recorded in any inscription of Nṛsiṃha-Temple before 1126 A.D.? Even his officers who visited or stayed in Utkaḷa have not mentioned their master's reigning year which must have been an offence in that age. One Poṭayā leṅka, who was an officer of Anantavarma (Choḍagaṅga) did not mention his master's *Śrāhi* in a votive inscription of Nṛsiṃha-Temple, in Śakābda 1048 (A.D. 1126).

16. *Ep. Ind.* - XXVIII, p-238.

An inscription of Nṛsiṃha Temple (No.6) for the first time records Choḍagaṅga's reigning year *(Śrāhi)* 53 which corresponds to A.D. 1127 That was the year when Choḍagaṅga established a village named Puraṇa in favour of Lord Puruṣottama. After lapse of 103 years, his great-great-grand-son, Anaṅgabhīmadeva (III) had converted that village (Puraṇa-grāma) into a *Brāhmaṇa-Śāsana*, which was situated near the capital city of Abhinava-Vārāṇāsī-Kaṭaka in Sāilo-Viṣaya on the bank of the Mahānadī. The following relevent passage from the Nāgari-copper-plate-Inscription of A.D.1230 is quoted

"श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे दक्षिणतीर्थराजतटे कर्कटका-ा-
वास्यायां सूर्योपरागे तस्मिन् पुराणग्रामे पाढीशर्मणे
ब्राह्मणाय.....हिरण्यगर्भमहादानाङ्गत्वेन
पञ्चवाटीपरिमितां भूमिं धारापूर्वकं.....
प्रादात् ।"

The exact location of Puraṇa-grāma can be traced from that copper plate-Inscription. It was on the bank of the Mahānadī. In that village, some lands were granted to Śrī-Puruṣottama by Choḍagaṅgadeva in A.D. 1127 Therefore, we may assume that his dominion in Utkaḷa-deśa, (after his victory in A.D. 1112) was brought to normal condition of peace.

Choḍagaṅga seems to have invited some selected *Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍits* or Vaiṣṇavas, belonged to Kāñchi and settled near Śrī-Puruṣottama-Kṣetra, for propagation of Dvaita-Philosophy. For example, a Brāhmaṇa named Kāmaṇḍi of Kāśyapa *gotra*, a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and Śiva (*Parama-Māheśvara* and *Parama Vaiṣṇava*) had come from "Choḷa-Deśa" (Kāñchi) and he donated lands with property for feeding sages (*Tapasvins* and *Sādhus*) at Garttesvara-Maṭha in the village of Aḷaguṃ of Rāmāṅga-Viṣaya. An inscription records this in the temple of Garttesvar (Śiva) at Aḷaguṃ, about 10 miles from Sākhīgopāḷa. It was incised when Choḍagaṅga's 62nd *Śrāhi* was current,[17] corresponding to A.D. 1136. Perhaps the king Rāmapāḷa of Bengal (A.D. 1077-112

17. *Ins. Or.* Vol-III, pt.- i, p-185.

has previously formed a Sāmanta-Chakra including Daṇḍabhukti and Utkaḷa, might have created obstruction to have absolute possession of those countries by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, even after the defeat of Karṇakeśarī and Choḍagaṅga performed *Śiva-Pūjā* in the temple of Kṛttivāsa in honour of his great victory. But, the king of Bengal seems to have organised fresh disturbance in the Eastern Zone for which sake Choḍagaṅgadeva was not officially recognised as full-fledged ruler of Utkaḷa-deśa upto 1126 A.D., although his army with some military men were posted to guard different sectors of Utkaḷa. For example, a stone inscription of Khiliṅgeśvara-temple in the village of Khilor in Delang P.S. of Puri District, discloses the name of an officer, Paḍāḷa Kāṭama, who lived in 1113 A.D. and donated some charity to god Khiliṅgeśvara. He must have come from Kaḷiṅga, under the possession of Choḍagaṅgadeva, to take part in the fight against the Somavaṃśī king, Karṇadeva.

In the same year, the city of Vārāṇasī on the bank of the Mahānadī was captured by the Gaṅga ruler. One Siriyā-Mudusari (1) a resident of Vārāṇasī, had visited the temple of Narasiṃhanātha at Siṃhāchaḷaṃ when Choḍagaṅga was still residing at Kaḷiṅga Nagara on the bank of the Vaṃśadhārā. One of his *Mahādevī* (queen) named Yarakaṃma, daughter of Vemāṃbikā, had made some grants in 1113 A.D. in the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅga, singing laudatory of her husband, Choḍagaṅgadeva.[18]

"शाकाब्दे शर-लोक-खेन्दुगणिते प्रादादखण्डम्मुदा
दीपं श्रीमधुकेश्वराय शशिनि छिन्नद्युतौ राहुणा।
विष्णोः श्रीरिव चोडगङ्गनृपतेः प्रेमैकपात्रीम्महा-
देवी। श्रीयरकम्मनाम विदिता वेमाम्बिकानन्दना।"

Within a course of ten years, after full tranquillity was restored in Utkaḷa-deśa, several *Paṇḍits*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Sādhus* (sages) did settle in different parts of that country. No epigraphical record belonging to Choḍagaṅga has been discovered in the eastern zone of Utkaḷa. But, during the last part of his reign, in A.D. 1135, the entire area, extending

18. *Ins. Or.*, Vol-III., pt-1, p-71.

from the Gaṅgā in the east and Godāvarī in south, had come to the possession of Chodagaṅga and peace was established as stated in a Telugu inscription of Śrīkūrma temple.

After securing peace in all parts of his dominion, Chodagaṅgadeva in A.D. 1142 organised the consecrate ceremony of his son, Kāmārṇavadeva's "*Mūrdhā-bhiṣeka* at *Sarvalokaikanātha*.[19] The relevent verse runs as follows

"वेदर्त्तुव्योमचन्द्रप्रमितशकसमा: प्राप्तकाले दिनेशे
चापस्थेऽन्यग्रहौघे बलवतिरिपुषु प्रक्षयं प्राप्तवत्सु।
अस्मिन् मूर्द्धाभिषिक्ते नृपवरतनये सर्वलोकैकनाथे
श्रीमत्कामार्णवेशे जगदभवदिदं तत्तदानन्दपूर्णम्॥"

The date, given in this verse, is corresponding to 1142 A.D. when all powerful enemies were crushed and absolute peace had established.

If the coronation ceremony *(Abhiṣeka)* of Kāmārṇavadeva had taken place before Lord Puruṣottama, whether the ceremony was performed at Nṛsiṃha-temple or in the great Jagannātha-temple is a question to be answered. From a Nṛsiṃha-temple Inscription it is clearly known that a *Dīpa-dāna* was made in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama during the 5th, regnal year of Kāmārṇavadeva, i.e. A.D. 1150. According to our calculation, his 5th. *Aṅka* corresponds to the date mentioned above.[20]

According to that record, one Surapotu of *Bharadvāja-gotra* installed a perpetual-lamp in that temple in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama. The doner, Surapotu, is entitled *'Śrīkaraṇa'* in another inscription found in Ārṣavalli-temple of the Sun god. He donated a perpetual-lamp to that temple, which is not far from the capital city of Kaliṅga. In that inscription, he mentions a laudatory title of Chodagaṅgadeva as follows

"समरमुखानेक रिपुदर्पमर्द्दन भुजबल पराक्रम
परममाहेश्वर परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज
परमेश्वर गंगान्वयावलम्बनस्तम्भ श्रीमदनन्तदेव:....

19. *Sarvalokaikanātha* is a general term which is also used for Nṛsiṃha in an inscription of Nārāyanpāḷa about 864 A.D. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol- XXXV, p. 226.
20. *Ins. Or* Vol.-III., pt-II, p-138,

That inscription is incised in the 57th *Śrāhi* of Choḍagaṅgadeva (A.D. 1134). Surapotu had also granted some lands for the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgaṃ.[21] Thus, it is clear that he was a senior officer in the Imperial-Gaṅga-Administration. Surapotu was an officer and also served under Kāmārṇavadeva in whose 5th regnal year he donated a lamp to Śrī-Puruṣottama as recorded in the above mentioned inscription of the Nṛsiṃha-temple.

ORIGINAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE

A custom, which implicitly followed in temples, is that while making *'Dīpa-dāna'* in name of a deity and if that dedication is expressly recorded through an inscription being fixed in his temple, then that temple must have been dedicated to that deity only. No inscription is to be attached in the name of one deity in a temple of another deity This rule was strictly followed without deviation. Therefore, how can we believe that in this case *Akhaṇḍa-Dīpa-Dāna* (grants of perpetual-lamp) made in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama, could be made in the temple of Nṛsiṃha ? More over, there is not even a single epigraph in which the name of Nṛsiṃha is mentioned. Some scholars might think that Śrī-Puruṣottama is the second name of Narasiṃha. In this regard they might have referred to the Sirpur (Raipur Dt.) inscription of Mahāśivagupta,[22] in which Śrī-Puruṣottama was saluted first and then invoked Narasimha. So, both are the same god, cognomen of each other. Some also might have assumed that the present form of Śrī-Puruṣottama-Jagannātha resembles, to some extent, the figure of 'Man-Line' We cannot agree to such far fetched hypothesis, as there is a clear evidence of Narsiṃha's position in the temple, under review, nothing more than one of the ten incarnate side deities of Viṣṇu, depicted on a wall of that temple. As such, how can he become the principal deity like Śrī-Puruṣotama of that temple ?

We will discuss latter about the changed figure of Śrī-Puruṣottama. But, regarding the general term of Puruṣottama for Viṣṇu, we fully agree with the opinion of Dr. H. Kulke, who suggests "although Puruṣottama is a commonly used title of Viṣṇu, at least since the Gupta

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21. *Ins. Or*., Vol-III., pt-1., p-165.
22. Dr. H. Kulke, The cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa. p-2, *Ins. Or*., Vol-IV, p-70.

period and its occurrence at the beginning of an invocation of Viṣṇu's *avatāra* Narasiṃha is nothing extraordinary, this (Lakṣmaṇa-temple inscription) of Mahāśivagupta, combination deserves notice because it is indicative of a trend in the Vaiṣṇava religion to give special emphasis to the Nṛsiṃha aspect of Viṣṇu. We find this trend again in the 9th century in an inscription of Nārāyaṇa pāḷa" of (Vide H. Kulke, The cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, P.12).

''येनोदीर्णः पृथिव्यां खरनखरकैर्भेदितो दैत्यराजः।
श्रीमल्लोकैकनाथो भुवनहितकरः पातु युष्मान् स विष्णुः।''

Nṛsiṃha's name is not recorded in any epigraph, so far discovered from the so-called Nrusiṃha temple. Apart from this, the god Nṛsiṃha is an *Aṃśāvatāra* (incarnation), offspring from Lord Viṣṇu (Puruṣottama) and that his image has been fixed on the outer-wall of the same temple, as a *"Pārśv-devatā"* (side-god). We believe that originally the temple which is now called in the name of 'Nṛsiṃha' is the temple of Śrī Puruṣottama who was worshipped in it long before the great Jagannātha-Temple was constructed

The last date of *Akhaṇḍa-Dīpa-Dāna'* is the 5th, regnal year (A.D. 1150) of Kāmārṇavadeva; hence Śrī-Puruṣottama must have been worshipped in that temple until it was broken and the deity was removed else where. Now, the question is, when that temple was broken ? An inscription of Nṛsiṃha-Temple records that in the 37th-Śrāhi of Anangabhima (III), i.e. A.D. 1241)'a *Mahāmāṇḍaḷika* had donated lands for *Amṛta-Manohī (Bhoga)* of two gods, namely Baḷabhadradeva and Kamaḷākṣadeva (Śrī-Kṛṣṇa). It means that the temple was not broken or renovated in or before 1241 A.D., else the inscription could not have been incised at the foot of that temple.

CONSECRATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ŚRĪ PURUṢOTTAMA

Now, the question which confounds our theory is whether the single god Śrī-Puruṣottama or Kamaḷākṣadeva, (Puruṣottama) was worshipped in that temple with his brother Baḷabhadra in A.D. 1242, and why the name of Srī-Puruṣottama was not used ? To answer these questions, we have to go through the history of development of Vaiṣ-

ṇava-philosophy in the 11th and 12th centuries when Śrī-Saṃpradāya and Rāmānuja's philosophy became popular. In south-India, Rāmānuja's adherents had preached the precepts of Rāmānuja whose theory of devotion was based on the *Pañcarātra-Saṃhitā*, a latter production of the *Ahirbudhna-Saṃhitā* in which devotion to Kṛṣṇa is described as the supreme work to attain *Mukti* (salvation) free from worldly bondage. It also describes that ceremonies, if performed by a king, he will not only escape from danger in the war but also ensure victory. It also states for recitation of the *'Sahasranāma'* (thousand-names) of *Sudarśana*, the main weapon of Kṛṣṇa (Cakradhara). According to the *Pañcharātra's* devotional theory, Pradyumna or Kāma is to be associated in the cult of *Vyūha* Rūpa, in Orissa, *Sudarśana-Cakra* plays the part of Pradyumna or Kāma. The *Nārada-Pañcarātrika* was popular among the Vaiṣṇavas who followed precepts of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* by Jaimini.

King Anaṅgabhīma must have performed the consecration ceremony at the temple of Jagannātha in Puri including the trinity (Haḷī, Cakrī and Subhadrā) must have followed the principles of *Ahirbudhna Saṃhitā* or the *Brahma-Saṃhitā.*

Among the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, Buddha is also associated on the wall of Nṛsiṃha-temple. He has been evoked in the *Gīta-govinda* by Jayadeva (12th century A.D.). But, the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* seems to be the earliest work in which Buddha is accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The *viṣṇu-purāna* (III.17f) states that "Viṣṇu in order to delude the Daityas, causes a phantom form to issue forth from himself, which comes into the world as Buddha" (Vide H.I.L, Vol.1,P 557,no.1).

In the *Tantravartika*, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa didnot admit Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. Similarly, Vṛddha Hārīta did not mention Buddha in the list (Vide. His Smṛti, X, P 145-46). But, adds Kṛṣṇa in the place of Buddha. "मत्स्यं कूर्मं च वाराहं नारसिंहं च वामनम्
श्रीरामं बलभद्रं च कृष्णं कल्किनमव्ययम्" (बृद्धहारीत)

(Vide P. V Kane, *His. Dhar*, II, P 720)

In the *Kṛtyakaumudī* (PP. 156-160) it is stated that a *Vrata* is to be done on the 7th. *tithi*, Śukla-pakṣa of Vaiśākha when Viṣṇu as Buddha started *'Śākya-Dharma'*

In the Oriya *Bhāgavata*, and the *Śaraḷā-Mahābhārata*, Buddha is described as one of the ten *Avatāras* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. According to some changed customs, introduced in the temple of Jagannātha, it becomes admixture of cosmpolitanism, with the figures of "Haḷī-Cakrī-Subhadrā" the tripartite deities. The *'Mādaḷā-Pāñji'* states that Anaṅgabhīma was the founder of Lord Puruṣottama's newly constructed great temple. The credit may go to Anaṅgabhīma-II, who probably constructed its incompleted portions in Śakāvda 1119 (A.D. 1197) as per the following verse.[23]

"शाकाब्दे रन्ध्रशुभ्रांशु रूप नक्षत्रनायके
प्रासादः कारितो राज्ञाऽनङ्गभीमेन धीमता।"

Might be he completed the construction during his short ruling time. This version of the Pañjābi-Maṭha inscription was not given weight by many historians in the face of Dāsagoba Copper-Plate-Inscription of Rājarājadeva-III (A.D. 1192-1211), accept the glory, panegyrized in favour of Chodagaṅgadeva.

That inscription states in a verse about construction of a lofty temple of Lord Puruṣottama; but gives no hint regarding consecration of the God in it. From the inscription of Nṛsiṃha Temple, however, it is clear that Puruṣottama was not removed from that old-temple in A.D. 1141 in which year Chodagaṅga's son, Kāmārṇavadeva, was the ruler. Therefore, we cannot believe that the huge temple, which was half built by Chodagaṅga during his life time, was completely made fit for installation of the deities in it by Anaṅgabhīma. Of course, many scholars believe that Lord Puruṣottama was removed from Sea-shore and placed in it by Chodagaṅga. Even scholars like Dr. Fleet have suggested that *Mādaḷāpāñji* cannot be taken as trust-deed account, but "expunged from the pages of History". Scholars have supported his view; but, now we get some inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha-temple which make us believe in support of the Pāñji. Thus, the correct version of the so-called fabulo[us] *pāñji*, regarding consecration *(Pratiṣṭhā)* of Lord Puruṣottama in [the] great temple, corroborates the Nagari-copper-plate which states th[e]

23. *Kaṭaka Rājavaṃśāvaḷī*, (edi. by G. C. Tripathi and H. Kulke.), p. 2[?]

Anaṅgabhīma-III, who organised in grand style with liberal donations of land, the *Pratiṣṭhā* ceremony, will give a clear picture in support of the above theory

> "श्रीपुरूषोत्तमदेवस्य प्रतिष्ठासमये काश्यपस्य (स)गोत्राचार्य चंन्द्रकरशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय च द्विवाटिपरिमित भूमि प्रदत्त:। श्रीपुरूषोत्तमस्य प्रीतये धारापूर्वकमाचन्द्रार्कमुपभोगाया-करीकृत्य प्रादात् ।"

Again he donated lands to please Śrī-Puruṣottama (God) at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka as quoted below

> "....?ऐष्ण अभिनववाराणस्यां भगवत: श्रीपुरूषोत्तमदेवस्य सन्निधौ मकरामावस्यायां रविवारे कुचिण्डा विषये विलासपुर ग्रामे दानसागरे विष्णुधर्मोक्ता षवगोधूमेषु सन्ततामष्टमानातिरिक्त (चतु)र्वाटि परिमित भूमि भारद्वाजगोत्राय देवधरशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय यजु: सामान्तर्गत काण्व-कौथुम-शाखैकदेशाध्धायिने श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय प्रीतये प्रादात्।"

This inscription is a record consisting Anaṅgabhīma's charities made in different occasions in between A.D. 1229-30 as enumerated below.

(1) For pleasure of Śrī Puruṣottama the grant was made in Śaka year 1151 (1229 A.D.) in the sixth *tithi* of dark-half of *māgha* (december), in thursday. *Paṇḍita* Śaṅkarānanda Śarman, a Brāhmaṇa was granted a fertile land, twenty *'Bāṭis'* in Purāṇa-Grāma and ten *'Bāṭis'* in Jayanagara-Grāma. The grantee was also given many additional facilities by the king who appointed twelve servants to live under him from the castes of *Bagūli* (Bāurī) *Tāmbuḷī, Malf Gauḍa, Gopāḷa, Tantuvāya, Taiḷika, Kumbhakāra, Kaivartta, Nāpita, Silpi* and *Rajaka*.

(2) In puraṇa-grāma the King (Anaṅgabhīma) has granted eighteen *'Bāṭis'* of fertile land on an occasion of Lunar eclipse to Dīkṣita Rudra a Brāhmaṇ of *Bharadvāja (gotra)*.

(3) On the occasion of *Makara-Saṅkarānti* he granted five *'Bāṭis'* to Somapāṇi Śarman.

(4) At the time of *Pratiṣṭhā* (consecration) ceremony of Śrī-Puruṣottamadeva, *Achārya* Candrakara Śarman was granted two *'Bāṭis'* of land. All the above grants of Land at Puraṇa-grāma measures 65 *'Bāṭis'* in total.

(5) On the *Karkaṭaka-Amāvāsyā*, when there was a solar-eclipse, many Brāhmaṇas had received *'Hiraṇya-garbha-Mahādāna'* from the king at the shore of *Mahodadhi* (Sea), called *'Dakṣiṇa-Tīrtharāja'* of Śrī-Puruṣottama-Kṣetra, when they received five *Bāṭis* of land in the same Puraṇa-grāma.

(6) According to *'Viṣṇudharma'* quoted in *Dānasagar*[24] the king had granted, to create pleasure of Śrī-Puruṣottama at Abhinava Vārāṇasi, four *'Bāṭi'* of land to Devadhara Śarman of *Bharadvāja-gotra* and a student of *Yaju* and *Sāmaveda* of *Kuthumaśākhā*.

In his 6th grant, the writer has specified the god at Abhinava Vārāṇasi, while in the 4th item of grant without specifying the place but simply stated Śrī-Puruṣottama's *Pratiṣṭhā*. The writer did not specify the god as 'Śrī-Puruṣottama of Puri' who was known to all.

Dr. D.C.Sircar, while editing the said inscription in 1950, had no information about the inscriptions of the Nrusiṃha temple where an *Akhaṇḍa-Dīpa* was set up for the god Puruṣottama in 1150-51 A.D. *Viz.* five years after Chodagaṅga's death when his son Kāmārnava deva was ruling the country.

According to a tradition, the wooden images of the trinity were installed in the main temple by Anaṅgabhīma. The account of the *MādalaPāñji* is coincident of the inscriptional account so far as the *Pratiṣṭhā* of the deities and the temple are concerned. But if the structure of the images was designed as we see at present, disregarding the standing rules of *Dharma-Śāstra*, the prescribed formation of the deities like Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa, then we cannot admit that the orthodox class of Brāhmaṇas would have taken part in the *Pratiṣṭhā* ceremony of the great temple. Of course, there is some concession for worship of deities' defacement provided they were installed

24. The author of *Dānasāgar* treatise is vallāḷasena (Vide-Kāne. P. V. H.D. V. pt- II, P-841)

Asuras, or Sages or by Tantrics, but under no circumstance, they are to be removed from their seat (*Āsana*). The *Agni-Purāṇa*[25] says

"असुरैर्मुनिभिगोत्रैस्तन्त्रविद्‌भिः प्रतिष्ठितम्।
जीर्णो वाऽप्यथवा भग्नं विधिनापि न चालयेत्।"

It means that "an image or Liṅga that is reputed to have been established by the Asuras or famous sages or by gods or by those who are expert in *Tantra*, should not be removed to another place whether it be wornout or broken even after the prescribed rites"

But in this case that rule is not applicable. Although the latter document is the earliest record which renders information regarding construction of the huge temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama-Jagannātha at Puri. The *Mādaḷā-Pāñji* says that Anaṅgabhīma has relinquished his kingdom to Lord Puruṣottama under whom he called himself *'Rāuta'* (a servent). The designation *'Rāuta'* is also used in the following inscriptions

(1) Śrī Kūrmeśvara Temple inscription of A.D. 1223 (*I.O.*; Vol.V, Pt.1, No-65)
(2) Pātāḷeśvara Temple of A.D. 1237
(3) Arumāḷ-perumāḷ Temple of Kāñcīpuram of A.D. 1230. No. 55.
(4) Bhīmeśvara Temple of Drākṣhārāma in East-Godāvarī District, A.D. 1238/39.
I.O No. 56-5. Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions of A.D. 1230.
I.O No. 57-6. Do Do Do ?
I.O No. 63-7. Drākṣhārama Temple of 1233 A.D.

The earliest known inscription seems to have been recorded in the Bhīmeśvara Temple[26] at Drākṣhārām in which epigraph a long epithet of Anaṅgabhīma is mentioned during his 8th regnal year (A.D. 1217), along with the title *'Rāuta'* He also claimed as the son of Durgā, Śrī-Puruṣottama and Rudra. That Telugu inscription is quoted below

25. Kane., *History of Dharmaśhāstra.*, Vol-II, pt-II, page-905.
26. *I.O.*, Vol-V, pt-I, p-67-68. According to our calculation, the corresponding date is Sunday 27th June 1217 A.D.

"(स्वस्ति) समरमुखानेकरिपुदर्पमर्दनभुजबल-
पराक्रम-परमवैष्णव-परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारक
दुर्गापुत्र-श्रीपुरुषोत्तमपुत्र रुद्रपुत्र त्रयीवसुन्धरा-
समुद्धरणप्रचण्ड-महावराह-परमेश्वर-गंगान्वया-
वलम्बनस्तम्भ-श्रीमदनन्तवर्म-त्रिकलिंगेश्वर-
श्रीराजराजदेवर कोडुकुलु अनियङ्कभीमरावुतु
संवत्सरंवुलु ८ गु श्राहि मेषशुद्ध ५मी यु
गुरुवारमुनांडु श्रीद्राक्षाराममुन श्रीभीमेश्वर महादेवरङ्कु.....।"

It is, therefore, evident that Anangabhima-III, was not only an efficient ruler but also a humble devotee of the goddess Durgā, Puruṣottama and Rudra like his Great-grand father Ananta-Varma Choḍagaṅgadeva. Hence, he must have taken *Dīkṣhā* from three teachers *(Gurus)* proficient in Śaktism, Vaiṣhṇavism and Śaivism.

Why the king Anaṅgabhīma has used the title of 'Rudra-Putra' instead of Maheśvara-Putra, although the title of *'Parama Māheśvara'* was the usual epithet of his family ? It may be answered that by using the name of Rudra, he meant him synonymous of Saṅkarṣana who is also called 'Maha-Rudra! A prayer to Saṅkarṣana in the *Skanda Purānā* runs as follows

"नमो कालाग्निरुद्राय महारुद्राय ते नमः।"

Like Durgā (Śakti), whose place is to the left of Śiva, Subhadrā is standing at the left side of Balabhadra. But, after they (Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā) were promiscuously inserted in the Vaiṣṇavite group, their position was altered being denounced from Śiva and Śakti group to Viṣṇu-family based on Satvatism or Bhāgavatism. This interchange might have been implimented when the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava cult was accepted by the Gaṅga Rulers. The former goddess Dūrgā was then called 'Ekanamsa', a part of Kruṣṇa (Viṣṇu) himself.

Although Subhadrā and Puruṣottama were separated by Śrī-Vaiṣṇava's, the tantric-teachers did not accept that theory. They seem to have brought Subhadrā into the Śakti fold while her status was as incarnated Bhairavi, assimilated with Puruṣottama-Bhairava

worship of 'Durgā-Mādhava' was probably the outcome of that tantric philosophy. But, the goddess Śakti was separated from the main seat of the trinity. She was installed in a separate temple, and called Vimaḷā; still the *Vijā-Mantra* of Subhadrā and Vimaḷā remain same. The latter goddess was eligible to all the tantric rituals during *'Daśaharā-Pūjā;* from which Subhadrā, the *Sahajanmā* (sister) of Puruṣottama (Kṛṣṇa) was refrained.

According to Dr. H.S. Stietencron, "the image of Subhadrā has iconographically a different origin. Theologically, she may have been to Bhairava at an early stage".[27]

But, we get no iconographical feature of any Hindu goddess except Stambheśvarī who is coming to our view as a tutelary goddess of some ancient royal families of Orissā. In a Copper-Plate Inscription found at Terasiṅga village in Kaḷāhāṇḍi, we find that a king named Tuṣṭikara of Parvatadvāra had invoked Bhagavatī-Stambheśvarī as adorable Devī. That epigraph is attributable to the 5th century A.D. on Palaeograhical consideration.[28] Goddess Stambheśvarī of the Bhañja-kings of Dhrutipura (Baudh), who worshipped Nīḷa-Mādhava image, is like a pillar (Stambha). (Hence, she is called 'Stambheśvarī). Subhadrā acquires the same feature of Stambheśvarī.

THE ANTHROPOID STONE IMAGES OF TRINITY IN TO ANTHROPOMORPHIZED FORM

The vital problem is, whether the Jagannātha Triad was originally anthropoid image ? If so, under what circumstance they were changed into anthropomorphized feature ? This is, however, a very important problem to explain in consideration of the iconographical rule for Viṣṇu image as prescribed in the *Āgamas*. We also get no evidence from literature of any epigraph concerning such peculiar wooden-deities, worshiped in any Hindu-temple. Of course, the *Māddḷā-Pāñji* narrates a story that *Dāru-Brahma* (the Sacred-log) which was floating in the sea

27. *'The Cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissā'*, p-123.
28. *J.*[illegible]*.S.*, vol-II, No-2, p-107-110.

and landed at *Bāṅki-Muhāṇa* was brought to the shore by some Śavaras. The sacred log was made by a strange carpenter in the new farm which have been duly installed in the main temple of Jagannāth. Since then, the Śuddha-Śavaras *(Dayitās)* are said to have been appointed to perform certain services in the temple, and also got absolute permission by the kings of Utkaḷa to do all ritual services during the period of 'Anavasara' when the trinity was put separately in the temple for some days. Those Śavaras were also given facilities to accomplish the funeral ceremony of the deities during the *'Navakaḷevara'* ceremony. This we will discuss later basing on some historical events.

There is no direct evidence to confront our theory regarding the anthropoid form of the deities in the Śrī-Mandira, when installed by Anaṅgabhīmadeva (III). Nevertheless we possess a reasonable support while looking at the shape of the deities in the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple at Bhubaneśwar. In this regard we may cite the inscription of Chandrikādevī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīma-III, which states that Chandrikā had constructed the temple 'Ananta-Vāsudeva' in commemoration of her husband, Paramardideva, who lost his life in a battle. She spent her life as a *Sanyāsini* in that temple after installing in it Śrī-Puruṣottama (Kṛṣṇa), Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā. The following verse may be quoted from that inscription (13th verse)

"एकाम्राद्वय वेदिते स्वमहसि श्रीकृत्तिवासप्रिये
क्षेत्रे पुण्यबले श्रुतामृतफले सर्वर्त्तुपुष्पोज्ज्वले।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य [illegible]लं सैषापदं वैष्णवं
गन्तुं मंगलपूर्णकुम्भ शि[illegible]सं श्रद्धाश्रिताचीकरत्॥" (श्लो.२१)

This inscription speaks that Chandrikādevī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīma-III, installed the trinity for adoration by presenting many valuable ornaments. The said inscription was incised in (A.D. 1278).

The features of Puruṣottama (Kṛṣṇa), and Baḷabhadra must necessarily have been in the same model in Chandrikā's deities which her father Anaṅgabhīma Deva installed in the Temple of Puri. Hence the two sets of at Puri and at Bhubaneśwar, contained equal feature. Since the [illegible] of Ananta-Vasudeva temple is anthropoid images, the Puri trinity [illegible] have been like the human statues. Because we cannot conceive any

daughter could differ from father's devotional principles. We have no evidence to acknowlege the circumstance under which Mādhava (Nīla-Mādhava) who has been described in the *Saṃhitās* as the possessor of four arms, has been changed into two armed Kṛṣṇa (Puruṣottama) along with his brother and sister Balabhadra and Subhadrā being installed in 'Śrī-Mandira' at Puri as well as in the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhubaneśwar. Therefore, it is quite possible that icon of Mādhava might have been revised in some latter age when the Vaiṣṇavas followed the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the 'Four-*Vyūha*' cult of the pañcarātra-Āgama. The *dhyān* of the revised form of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was sung as follows

"सव्याध: पङ्कजं यस्य पञ्चजन्यं तथोपरि
दक्षिणोर्ध्वे यस्य चक्रं गदा चाधो व्यवस्थिता
आद्यमूर्त्तेस्तु भेदोऽयं माधवेति प्रकीर्त्यते।"
(विष्वक्सेन संहिता-२/५/१६०-१६२)

मुकुटाद्यैरलङ्कारैः शक्त्या भक्त्या मुदान्विता।
बलकृष्णौ सुभद्रा च श्रेयसे सा विभूषयत्।"

We have no evidence to acknowledge the circumstance under which Mādhava or Nīla-Mādhava as described in the *Saṃhitās*,'[30] had been changed to two armed images of Balabhadra, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, as well as at the Śrī-Mandir. It is quite possible that the philosophy of the Vaiṣṇavas was modified and worshipped Cakradhara as Viṣṇu as per description made in the *Bhāgavata-purāna* and Vaiṣṇavaite-literature. The *Viṣṇu-rahasya* of the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, states that He possessed two arms in which holds *Saṅkha* and *Cakra* only.

"शङ्खचक्रधरः श्रीमान्नील जीमुतसन्निभः
रमया सह सर्वेशो नित्यं विहरति स्वयं।"

Bhāgavata Purāṇa

30. Vishvaksena - *Saṃhitā* - 2.5. 160-162.

Among Baḷabhadra and Kṛṣṇa their sister, Subhadrā, is also placed in the form of Lakṣmī. The following verse renders a clear picture of the union of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa), the holder of Conch and Disc.

"देवं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं कमलया स्वाङ्कस्थया पङ्कजम्।
विभ्रत्या परिरब्धमम्बुजरुचा तस्यां निबद्धेक्षणम्।
(शारदातिलकम्-१७.३१)

We are not going to discuss the theological side of the cult of Viṣṇu as per the *Pañcarātm*-system to make the present topic more complicated, since our object is to explain the circumstance under which Puruṣottama's shape was transferred from four armed Viṣṇu to two armed Kṛṣṇa. Might be it was after the Vaiṣṇava teachers have imposed their faith upon the Gaṅga-Rulers, their disciples, when the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school of philosophy gained popularity in the countries of the Coḷas and the Chālukyas, with whom the Gaṅgas have established matrimonial relationship.[31]

Anaṅgabhīma-III was a great supporter of Vaiṣṇavism. He issued two inscriptions at Arumāḷa-perumāḷ-Temple of Kāñcipuraṃ which proves the South-Indian influence on him to run the temple administration at Puruṣottama. According to his first inscription in the perumal-Temple of Kāñcipuraṃ, he had undertaken the austere system of *Ekādaśī-Bratarāja*.

According to Mr. J.V. Mahālingaṃ,[32] the said inscription is attributed to the 20th March, 1230 A.D. which again is the same year when he consecrated the main temple of Śrī Puruṣottama at Puri. The depth of his faith in Vaishṇavism is known from a South-Indian epigraph, quoted below

"स्वस्ति ('') चतुर्दश भुवनाधिपति श्रीपुरुषोत्तम
चरणादेशात् (') समरमुखानेक रिपुदर्पमर्द्दन
भुजबल पराक्रम परमवैष्णव परमभट्टारक

31. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol - VI, No. - 1 & 2, p-90.
32. *Ep. Ind.* - XXXI, P. 96-97

जगन्मूलकारण श्रीपुरुषोत्तमपुत्र त्रैवसुन्धरा
समुद्धरण प्रचण्ड दोर्दण्ड महावराह श्रीमदेकादशीव्रतराज
संसेवन प्रदलित कलिकाल कल्मषमसिस्पर्शनलेश महावाक्यार्थ
परिचर्याभ्यासापराकृत परमब्रह्मनन्दभाव महाराजाधि
राज श्रीमदनन्तवर्म राहुतदेव प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्ये।"

The epithet used by Anaṅgabhīma as *Puruṣottama-Putra, Durgā-Putra* and *Rudra-Putra*, makes it clear why the king has used the names as Durgā and Rudra instead of Subhadrā and Baḷabhadra, whom he installed in the temple as "Haḷī, Cakrī and Subhadrā (No. 23) perhaps he has taken *Dīkṣyā-Mantra* from three teachers *(Gurus)*, who followed separate precepts of Vaiṣṇavism, Tantrism and Saivism for worship of the respective deities, namely Viṣṇu (Puruṣottama), Durgā and Rudra. Basing on this point, we may say that after embracing Vaiṣṇavism, Anaṅgabhīma has taken the *Mantra-dīkshyā* from a Tantric teacher and honoured Subhadrā as Puruṣottama's dextral goddess who was worshiped as a female-energy of Puruṣottama like Durgā of Śiva (Rudra) who was represented through Saṅkaraṣana (Baḷabhadra) although the *Vīja-Mantra* used for Śiva differs from that of Baḷabhadra. Perhaps the *Guru-dīkṣyā* by a Saivācārya was given up in the latter age. This theory may be accepted if more corroborative evidence will come to light.

The next problem is where from a little image of Nṛsiṃha was brought to place him in a temple which is too big in consideration of the size of the deity ? And why that tiny figure was given so honourable position by installing him in the place of Lord Puruṣottama ? Most probably, after performance of *Pratiṣthā* of the trinity and the temple the image of Nṛsiṃha which was placed as per custom, at the *Yajña-Śālā* at the *Homa-Kuṇḍa* (sacred pit of oblation) was removed to that old-temple after the trinity was consecrated. According to the *Skanda-Purāṇa* at first the image of Nṛsiṃha is to be adorned at the pious *Yajña-Vedī* by Brāhmaṇas before starting oblation for other deities.

We, therefore, assume that the same image might have been at the of *Sarvalokaikanātha* (Puruṣottama), when the *Mūrdhābhiṣeka* ceremony of Kāmārṇava had taken place at Nṛsiṃha

temple in 1142 A.D. in the life time of Choḍagaṅgadeva. On consideration of these relevant facts the *'Yajña-Nṛsiṃha'* might have been installed in the Nṛsiṃha-temple after it had fallen vacant. Subsequently, when similar *Yajñas* were performed by the Gaṅga and Gajapati kings at Puri, some more images of *Yajña-Nṛsiṃha* might have been built and placed at Cakra-tirtha, where there is a small temple having a group of similar-images of Nṛsiṃha.

In the 13th century, the anthropoid images of the trinity i.e. Śri-Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā in a group or seperately were placed in some newly built temples when such little Nṛsiṃha images were prepared during performance of those deities (Baḷabhadra, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā) adorned with *Mukuṭa* (Crown) and other ornaments;[33] because they were having all limbs of human body. The following verse is quoted from the inscription of Ananta-Vāsudeva temple

"मुकुटाद्यैरलंकारैः शक्त्या भक्त्या मुदाऽन्विता।
बलकृष्णौ सुभद्रा च श्रेयसे सा विभूषयत्।"

The images installed in that temple are made of stone and they are not painted with colours, black, white and yellow, as they are found in the temple of Śri-Jagannāth of Puri at present.

The *Skanda-Purāṇa*[34] describes Subhadrā as a goddess holding in Her two hands *abja* (lotus) and *varābhaya* (safety)

"सुभद्रा च रूवदना कराब्जाभयचारिणी।"

Thus She was not armless figure in or about the 13th century A.D. when the *Skanda-Purāṇa* was written.

"फुल्लारविन्दवदनं पीतनिर्मलवाससं।
पङ्कजासनमध्यस्थं शुद्धजम्बूनदप्रभम्।।
केयूरकटकोपेतं हारकुण्डलमण्डितं
शंखचक्रधरं स्मेरं मुकुटोज्ज्वलशोभितम्।।
सोऽहमस्मीति भावेन चिन्तयेत् पुरुषोत्तमम्।"

33. *Ep. Ind.* Vol-XIII, p-150-151., *Ins. Cr* Vol.-V, pt.- 1, p-215
34. *Skanda. Utkal Khanda*, Vr. 10.

"The *Arcaka (Paṇḍā)* has to image the picture of Śrī-Puruṣottama, whose face is like a full-blown lotus; who wears pure and yellow garment; who is on a gold-shining seat; who is adorned with *Keyūra* (Bracelet on the upper-arm), *Kaṭaka* (bracelet of gold), *Hāra* (ornate garland) and *Kuṇḍala* (ear-ring); who holds in his hands *Śaṅkha* (conch) and *Cakra* (disk); whose face is in smiling pose; it is He whose head shines with a *Mukuṭa* (Crown); This type of figure is not on the pedestal whom the *Arcaka* or *Paṇḍā* is perceiving in his mind at the time of *Pūjā* (offerings of *Bhoga*). Why such discrepancy occur in an important function of Śrī-Puruṣottama and when it was started ?

REFORMS OF NARASIMHADEVA I IN ADMINISTRATION OF PURUṢOTTAMA TEMPLE

It is, necessary to consider the political situation of the country after Anangabhīma-III, who as stated before, was a powerful ruler of Utkaḷa, and undertaken the great task of installing the trinity in the main temple at Puri. His son, Narasiṃhadeva-I, who followed the foot-steps of his father in fields of religion and politics, had adapted the strategy of aggression against the anti-Hindu community of Bengal. For this he built a huge army, capable of fighting with powerful Muslim force. To fulfill his object, he must have organized a well trained cavalry and a strong foot-soldier in Orissa. A frolic foot-soldier-unit was perhaps recruited from among the Śavara tribes. Not only that they were frolic but also hardy and good fighters as front-army. Since their population in the hill-tracts was much larger than the *Khaṇḍāyatas* of Utkaḷa, the Śavara's participation in the army was indispensable for invasion of Bengal against the Muslim kings. The national character of the tribals was, they were extremely conscientious to their spiritual deities *(Kituṅgs)*. To bring such fanatic peoples within the fold of Hinduism, the king Narasiṃhadeva-I, might have posted a strong tribal army at the mouth of Chandrabhāgā near Koṇārka to guard the Muslim fleet, who attack the religious centres of Śrī-Khṣetra (Puri) and Bhubanes-war. Most probably, to create their spiritual loyality, Narasiṃhadeva must have devised a new plan changing the structure of Puruṣottama, in pattern of tribal gods *(Kituṅg)* fixed on the temple wall at

Koṇārka, whom the tribals have regarded as their own god. The earliest picture of the anthropomorphic model of Lord Puruṣottama has been depicted on an outer-wall of Koṇārka temple of the Sun-god who was also accepted through tribalism.

This hypothesis may be a reason for the structural modification of the god, under tribal oriented form. Dr. A. Eschmann, Dr. H. Kulke and Dr. G. C. Tripathi, have failed to consider this aspect while dealing with the vital issue of abrupt change of the model of the trinity in the 13th century A.D. They have jointly opined as follows

"It is difficult to imagine that Narasiṃha Deva-I, should have worshipped a crude Hinduized wooden image of the great god of Puri, If, at the same time, the main cult image at Puri, was of pure Hindu Iconography. At the time, when the Koṇārk temple was constructed, the main images of the Jagannātha Temple must therefore have been of the same iconography as depicted in Koṇārk."[35]

Although different form of the images was restored after Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, when his son Narasiṃha Deva-I, has come to the throne, the latter seems to have changed the figure of the deities to establish similarity between the *Kituṅgs* of Śavaras and the trinity of Puruṣottama-Kṣetra. Perhaps it was accepted by conservative Brāhmaṇas when they believed that the essential sole or *Brāhmaṇ* of the deity i.e. *(Śālagrāma-silā)* has been hidden within a wooden frame of the image, whose out ward appearance was only to attract the tribal folk, so that the danger to the temple and deities could be avoided. This attempt of the then great politicians of Utkala, must have secured sympathy from the entire aboriginal class (Śavaras) who were the major fighting-race of Trikaliṅga. The Śavaras being a vital asset of the country and supreme fanaticised army must have guarded the *Kṣetras*. They can tolerate any hard oppression as long as their religious faith was not disturbed. Such soldiers of extreme fanaticism, could protect the deities from the then aggressive Muslim iconoclasts by their repeated attempt to invade Utkal. We, therefore, consider be a strong reason why the Suddha-Śavaras have been given a the sacred Hindu-temple and allowed to play an important

35. *The cult of Jagannātha and the Regional-Traditions of Orissā*- p.- 192-93

some functions in the temple of Lord-Puruṣottama and designated *Dayitā* and *Suāra*.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF UTKALA BEFORE ANAṄGABHĪMADEVA - III

For the first time, however, King Narsiṃhadeva-I, while building the great Sun-temple at Koṇārka, might have ordered to fix on its wall the figures of Puruṣottama, like *Kitung*. He might have declared in their reformed Kituṅg-like anthropomorphized figure shown on the outer wall of the said temple.

Before Narasiṃhadeva-I, that peculiar anthropomorphized form of Puruṣottama was not discovered. Therefore, it proves that the king Narasiṃha-I was responsible for adopting a new cult and devotional system in "Śrī-Mandira", which was not known till the second half of the 13th century.

In consideration of the above facts regarding the iconographic reform of Puruṣottama, a brief account is given below on Chronological basis

1. The original deity of Puruṣottama was the four-armed Viṣṇu called Mādhava or Nīḷa-Mādhava whose ancient temple on the sea shore was destroyed and he was removed to a newly built temple by Yayāti-II, in the tenth century A.D.

2. That the new temple built by Yayāti is the 'Nṛsiṃha temple' in the premises of the great Śrī-Jagannāth-temple of Puri. Choḍagaṅgadeva of the Gaṅga-dynasty who merged Utkaḷa with his ancestral kingdom (Kaḷiṅga) has constructed that great temple in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama by the northern side of Nṛsiṃha-temple which was in a neglected stage. But, in his life time, he could not perform the consecration ceremony of the temple which he constructed, since some parts of the work was left incomplete before his death.

3. Choḍagaṅga's sons and his grand son, Rājarājadeva-III who were involved in war with the Kāḷachuris of Tuṃmāna, and Chalukyas in the south-western borders of their dominion, must not have found suitable time to look after the great expensive work of consecration of the great temple and the deities, Śrī-Puruṣottama, Baḷabhadra and

Subhadrā in it. In 1230 A.D. after the defeat of the enemy kings in different sectors by two able commanders, like Viṣṇu of Utkala entitled *Sakaḷa-Baḷa-Pati* and *Trikaḷiṅga-Daṇḍādhipa* Mādhavachandra of Kaḷiṅga, when Anaṅgabhīma Deva-III's wealth and prosperity improved and peace was restored in all parts of the country. He performed the glorious ceremony of *Pratiṣṭā* of the great temple of Lord puruṣottama-Jagannāth at Puri. All the three deities were installed in the main temple.

4. The icon of the three deities were the same as they have been found in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar who were worshipped by Chandrikādevī, the widow daughter of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III.

5. After Anaṅgabhīma-III, his son Narasiṃhadeva's accession took place in 1243 A.D. He constructed the great temple of Koṇārka in which there is an image of Śrī-Puruṣottama who possessed the anthropomorphic feature and that is the earliest known image of the revised form of the deities.The date of the Koṇārka temple may be assigned to the second half of the 13th century and finally, the aboriginal-link with Sri-Puruṣottama-cult was admitted in the Vaiṣṇava Temple which is supposed to be an attempt to create interest of the wild races of Trikaḷiṅga country. They could protect the great temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama from the iconoclast raiders. The Hindu Brāhmins were consoled when a sacred *Śāḷagrāma-Śiḷā* was secretly placed in the cavity of wooden frame of the image of Śrī-Puruṣottama-Jagannatha.

Śaṅkarācārya says that Hari is within Sālagrāma(शालग्रामो ह... Vedānta-Sutra, 1-2-7)

The above hypothesis is mostly based on dates, mentioned in the inscriptions, newly discovered from the temple of Nṛsiṃha, after it was deplasterated. Ofcourse, some points which we will discuss latter are depending on some legend extracted from a Sanskrit manuscript, entitled *...ṭakarāja Vaṃśāvaḷī*. After the new type of wooden idols were installed in the main temple, perhaps the old stone images of Baḷadeva, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā have been removed else where for *"Visarajana"*. We may presume that instead of throwing into water at Puri, they were carried to the sacred tank of Vindu-Sarovara, where stands the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva with the anthropoid images of Baḷabhadra, Kṛṣṇa

and Subhadrā. Therefore, that pious tank was the suitable place for preservation of those deities. They are still kept in a closed compartment of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva. Ofcourse, those images are not kept separately for the purpose of worship as they were removed from original seat.

IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLES OF PURI

The present volume contains twenty-seven inscriptions which have been collected from the temples of Nṛsiṃha, Markaṇḍeśvara and Pātāḷeśvara. The newly discovered inscriptions from the temples of Nṛsiṃha and Mārkaṇḍeśvara are fifteen and six, respectively although some inscriptions from Patāḷeśvara temple have been edited and published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol.XXX, PP 197 and 201, ff., a few are still to be edited. The total number of inscriptions, found in Nṛsiṃha temple is 61 out of which some are written in South-Indian-Script and Telugu-language. We have given them in the second part of this volume. A large number of inscriptions of it are found fragmented, after the temple was de-plastered by the central Department of Archaeology.So, they cannot be read and serve any useful purpose. All the epigraphs are votive in context, and grants made by kings or private persons. The dates mentioned in all the inscriptions, except a few, assign the exact period when the god Purusottama was in Nṛsiṃha-temple, and also they render clue to determine the time when the deity was removed from his original seat.

These inscriptions are incised within the reigning periods of Chodagaṅgadeva(A.D. 1078-1146) and Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, A.D. 1198-1238), covering about 133 years, within which period seven Gaṅga-Kings have passed. Their ruling time is as follows

Chodagaṅga Deva (A.D. 1078-1147)

Kāmārṇavadeva, Rāghavadeva, Rājarājadeva-II, Anaṅgabhīmadeva-II,
(A.D. 1147-1156) (A.D.1156-1170) (A.D.1170-90) (A.D.1190-1198)

Rājarājadeva-III
(A.D.1198-1211)
Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III

(A.D. 1212-1242)
(Daughter) Chandrikādevī
Narasiṃhadeva-I

Out of 27 inscriptions, given in this volume, the first five from A.D. 1113-1126, there is no name of the king. Then, from A.D. 1127-1143 Choḍagaṅgadeva's name is mentioned. After him, his two sons, Kāmārṇavadeva and Rāghavadeva are coming into the list of our inscriptions but, there is no inscription where Choḍagaṅga's two other sons, Rājarājadeva-II and Anaṅgabhīmadeva-II and the latter's son Rājarājadeva-III, are mentioned. Perhaps, after Rāghavadeva, there was some disturbance in the country which kept them fully busy in war affairs.

The inscriptions which are being edited in the present volume are evolved a step further regarding original condition of the great temple and the other temples in Puri. From the structural point of view the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple seems to be the earliest in Puri. Dr. Stietencron compares it with the temple of Mukteśvara at Bhubāneśwar by Ca. 6 meters. Since all the latter temples are taller, this is a fairly reliable indication of the Puri temple's chronological position its increase against the Mukteśvara would suggest that it was built after the Mukteśvara which belongs to the 10th century. This agrees with the terminus post-quem, established about as 949 A.D. The existence of remnants of a temple in the Mukteśvara style built within the compound wall of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple at Puri, furnishes a proof of approximately contemporary building activities of the Somavamsis in Bhubaneśwar and Puri.

Before Choḍagaṅga's death in A.D. 1148, there was hardly six years within which period he managed to complete the work of that huge temple, although some minor works remained to be done. As it was not fully completed, the consecration was suspended for some years more. In this connection we may base on the *Mādalā-Pāñji* version; we may presume, that the tit-bits of the masonry work was completed by Anaṅgabhīma-II, for which he earned glory in the *'Pāñji'*. His son, Rājarāja-III, sang grand-father's glory in the *praśasti* (laudatory) of

36. *The cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Traditions of Orissa*, p-64.

Chodagangadeva; in Dāsgoba copper-plate-inscription. Choḍagaṅga in his Darbār, discoursed with Paṇḍits on matters concerning religion and philosophy (*Kalpa* and *Mimānsā*).

Several Paṇḍits belonging to different schools of Philosophy, must have assembled in the royal court of Choḍagaṅga before he planned for construction of a Viṣṇu Temple, exceeding all temples of Utkaḷ in height. Perhaps, due to his patronage, some *'Maṭhas'* were established in *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*, which was also recognised as a celebrated *Tīrtha* or *Tīrtha-rāja* of the south, as well as *Hari-tīrtha*, mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1113 (No-1) of Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. In the same year, a *Mahākavi* named Nārāyaṇa of Kaḷiṅga has endowed a perpetual lamp to burn before "Śrī-Puruṣottama", as is recorded in an inscription of Nṛsiṃha Temple. (No-2).

From another record of Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple (No-10), we learn that in A.D. 1134-35, one Pramādirāja (brother of Choḍagaṅga) has stated that the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara was the residing place of Poets *(Kavis)*, Sages *(Ṛsis)*, Hermits *(Munis)* who appear like personified Śiva (No-10); they were to look after the lamp burning in the temple uninterrput. It is, therefore, clear that not only the Paṇḍits and poets but also Sages and hermits, were living in the *'Hari-Kṣetra'* when Choḍagaṅga was the ruler. Hence, our suggestion regarding Choḍagaṅga's support to all classes of respected men was the result of enhancement of the number of *'maṭhas'* in which vedic Philosophy of different schools was taught. Not only the Śaivas, Vaiṣhṇavas and Vedic Brāhmaṇas, but also the Bauddhas and Jainas were the recipients of royal-support. Therefore, in one of the votive inscriptions (No-14) Choḍagaṅga Deva is entitled *Paramavaiṣṇava* and *Parama-Brāhmaṇya*. He was not only a devoted worshipper of gods but also a great savant in polity. Perhaps, he aimed to introduce in the great temple of Puruṣottama which he was building a new type of *Kalpa*, *Mimānsā* and also a revised form of *Daṇḍaniti* (Politics) which would create perversive unity in Hindu society. He might have announced for a plan of renaissance which has been expressed in that inscription. The relevent passage of his glory is quoted hereunder

"विकळ्प-मीमांसा-कळा -कळापरुप-विवरणाभिनव-
जगदेक पूर्णावतार, सकळ काव्यकळा -मधुराळाप कलापरुप-
निरुपण काळिदास, राजनीति नवनिरुपण कलिकालावतार,
वर्णाश्रमोत्तारकोपाधि
विदित श्रौत स्मार्त्त-कर्माद्दृष्ट-दिक्पाळ-
तनयावतार..... ।"

It means that Chodaganga was successful in producing of *Kalpa*, and *Mimānsā* (the analytic study of religion) being a good speaker of poetic language like Kāḷidāsa, the famous poet. He was an incarnated monarch of the Kaḷi-Age. He introduced a new system of polity *(Rājanīti)* and possessed the title of *'Varṇāśramottāraka'* or the protector of *Varṇāśrama-Dharma*.

The *Rājanīti*, followed by kings, was as per *Artha-Śāstra* [37] by Kautilya. The fundamental principle of a king is of creating happiness of the subject.

"प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्...।"

A king should learn *Dharma-Śāstra* and *Nīti-Śāstra* to mould his character accordingly. Chodaganga seems to have possessed all the required qualities of a king. So, he could compose a new treatiseon *Rājanīti* which he introduced in Utkaḷa, and Kalinga during his matured age.

Unfortunately, we have not yet discovered if there was any work on *Vikalpa'* or *Mimānsā*, as described in the inscription (No-14) whose authorship may be traced to Chodaganga Deva. Ofcourse, the Brahmanical influence might not have been significant in the religious sphere and there might have been a lull due to the absence of any duty in the temple for a long time after it was completed. That the temple remained vacant is well proved from the fact that a perpetual-lamp was endowed in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama in the Nṛsimha temple during the fifth regnal year (A.D. 1150-51) by Chodaganga's son Kāmārṇavadeva, (No-17).

37 *Kautilya Arthaśāstra* - Adhi-1, Cha-19, Sutra-39.

"वीरश्रीवाणुदेव राजुल समस्त ८ स्राहि मकरंकृ ११
सि रविवारे कलिङ्गदण्डपाटपरीक्षामहापात्रभुवनानन्द-
संधिविग्रहिङ्कर अधिकारे कलिङ्गपरीक्षामहापात्रपरिहारा-
नन्द सन्धिविग्रहिङ्कर अधिकारे माजि समस्त वेहरण-
विद्यमाने ठाकुरङ्कर आयुष्कामार्त्त (र्थे) श्रीनरसिंग (ह)
नात(थ)देभ(व)ङ्कर अमृतमणहिकि भिआइला
निशां(शं)कभाणु(नु) भोग १ ल अर्स ४ वापुंला
४ कोरडवड(डा) ४ जेवट(घ) लु लादिक १ पण(णा)
कलसि २ पनुविडिया ५ गु(आ)गो ५ दों(धं)डा-
माल १ पत्रिप(फ)ल २ कपु(र्पु)र मे(मि) साचन्दन
कलिसि १ तिगुणि दुदु(ध) कुंच १ एतक खण्ड
म(में)चे एतक नित्यप्रसादकु मद्ये(ध्ये)।"

Hence, there is no need to repeat that Śrī-Puruṣottama was not consecrated in the new temple during the life time of Choḍagaṅga, although he attempted to provide privilege to all classes to worship Lord Puruṣottama, the Sarvalokaikanātha (Lord of all people of the world). About eighty years after demise of Choḍagaṅga, the new temple remained vacant there being no deity in it. In 1230 A.D., however, his great grand son, Anaṅgabhīma-III, installed the three deities Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Puruṣottama in that new temple as stated before.

MUSLIMS OF BENGAL, CHECKED BY NARASIMHADEVA

After Anaṅgabhīmadeva, the political condition suddenly changed due to Muslim raids on Bengal as well as on Bihar and North-India. We have already discussed about the military organisation set up by Narasimhadeva-I, for his expedition to Bengal. He achieved victory in his first invasion which has been sung by his *Praśasti* writers in the copper plate inscriptions, issued by his grandson, Narasimhadeva (II).

"राढावरेन्द्र-यवनी-नयनाञ्जनाश्रु-
पूरेण दुर विनिवेशित कालिमश्रीः।

तद् विप्रळम्भ करुणादभुत-निस्तरङ्ग-
गङ्गापि नूनममुना-यमुनाऽधुनाऽभूत्।"

N. N. Vasu translates the verse as follows

"The (White) river Gaṅgā blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping *yavanis* of Rāḍhā and Varendra, and rendered waveless as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by the monarch into, the (Black-watered) Yamunā."[38]

The districts of Beṅgal such as, Rāḍhā and Varendra, were the two famous Hindu-settlements where many Brāhmaṇas and ascetics have lived. But, that part of Beṅgal was completely demolished by Muslim raiders. Consequently, many Hindu families have rushed into Utkaḷa as refugee. They have been provided with land and house at various places by the Gaṅga Rulers. From an inscription of the temple of Liṅgarāj at Bhubaneswar, we know that a Saiva-teacher of Narasiṃhadeva-II, named Bhava-Sadāśiva Āchārya, has constructed a Maṭha where he was endowed lands in seventeen villages to feed those refugees, hailed from Rāḍhā and Varendra at his Maṭha.

After acheiving victory in Beṅgal, in or about 1250 A.D. - Narasiṃhadeva-I, built the world famous temple at Koṇārka for worship of the Sun-God. Like his father (Anaṅgabhīma-III) Narasiṃhadeva-I, attempted to reform the religious outlook of his peoples. He adopted the system of Vaisnavism, as prescribed in the *Upanishad*, *Brahmasūtra* and *Saṃhitās* & as followed by Rāmānuja. According to M. Winternitz, Rāmānuja has postulated three principles i.e. (1) The individual soul, (2) The irrational world and (3) the God, as the supreme deity, which should be associated with *Bhakti* for the doctrine of Vaisnavism.[39]

Narasiṃhadeva (I) had become a devotee of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. So, he adopted the name *'Bhānu'* for his son, which continued for every alternative successor of his descendants. He had also developed the rule of Sūrya-Nā...

38. *Viśva Koṣa* (Bengali)., Vol. V, (edi. 1896) p-320-321,

39. *H.I.L*, Vol-III, p-533

ana's *prasāda* (offered food), as pure as that of *Mahā-Prasāda* of Lord Puruṣo-tama, in his temple. All distinction of castes, high or low, were deemed unnecessary as in the temple of Puruṣottama. That bold step of social reform was successful when there was terrible reaction evolved in the country due to raids by iconoclasts of Bengal and Delhi.

In consideration of the repeated raid by Muslims, Narasiṃhadeva had taken strong measure in strategical field by recruiting more Tribal soldiers for defending the religious institutions. Apart from this, there are certain rituals, performed in the temple of Puruṣottama, for which jungly people's help was necessary. For instance, the *'Navakaḷevara'* of the deities needed fresh logs from jungle and they are to be brought to Puri from far of places, which work could not be accomplished by peoples other than the jungly race. Therefore, the 'Śuddha-Śavaras', a tribal-class, were employed in that sacred work. Those tribals are usually installing their *"Kituṅgs"* under a *Vara, Nim* or any big tree near their village in anthropomorphized form to be discussed later.

The Influence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism and change of Religious concept in Utkaḷa.

In the premises of the temple of Śrī Puruṣottama-Jagannāth, there is a *Kalpa-Vata*, (the wishfulfilling banyan tree) like the *Bāñchhā-Vata* at Prayāga (Allahabad).The *Kalpa-Vata* of the Puri Temple has also similar sacredness; and under it there is little image of Kṛṣṇa who is supposed to be laying upon a tender Vata-leaf. According to the *Gopālārcana-Paddhati*, there was a pedestal under that Kalpavata under which there is a *Yoga-Pītha* (an austere pedestal) on which is an eight-petaled-lotus where the bright-blue complexed god is sitting. Pūjaka has to imagine in mind :

"रम्ये वृन्दावने कनकस्थलिं विचिन्त्य तत्र
कळ्पद्रुममूळे रत्नकुट्टिममध्ये योगपीठं
विचिन्त्य, तत्राष्टदळारुण-पङ्कजोपरि
देवतां ....चिन्तयेत्।"

Before dealing with the other historical events, found in inscriptional texts, we should decide why in the reigning period of Narsiṃhadeva-(I) there occured a religious turmoil in Kaliṅga due to appearance of Mādhavā-cārya

and his two disciples, Narahari-tīrtha and Nārāyaṇa Senāpati. The former belonged to a *Sacīva* (minister's) family under the Gaṅga-Kings of Kaliṅga-Maṇḍaḷa.

Narahari's great-grand-father was an administrative officer under Choḍagaṅgadeva. He is supposed to have been appointed as the chief administrator in the South to hold the rein of administration of South Kaliṅga as per the then existing system of hierarchy.But, Narahari being disciple of a *Vaiṣṇava-guru* like Mādhavācārya. He became a *Yati* like his teacher and did not intend to involve in any worldly affair. But, his teacher, Mādhava, advised him to hold the paternal post to possess a set of golden image of Rāma and Sīta, which had been preserved in the store of the king of Kaliṅga, without worship *(Ārādhanā)*. The king Narasiṃhadeva was a minor at the time of his father's death. There was every chance of Muslim raiders to break the Hindu-temples and sacred institutions of Kaliṅga and Utkaḷa. The great temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama should be well guarded. In consideration of the political havoc of the time, Narahari-*tīrtha* accepted the task of administration of Kaḷinga country, which is known from his grant when Narasiṃhadeva-I, was the ruler.

While engaged in political affairs, Narahari seems to have written a commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, in about 1220 A.D. He also wrote some *stotras* called *'Narahari-yati-stotram'*.

In that age of social turmoil and change of religious concept regarding the school of Nimbārka-Rāmānuja to that of Nimbārka, we like to quote here a short passage written by M. Winternitz:

"An exposition of Rāmānuja's system is the *Yatīndra-Mata-Dipikā*, of Śrīnivāsa Dāsa or Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindāchārya and disciple of Nimbārka. The work consists of a section on the theory of knowledge and a theological section on the soul and God. Śrīnivāsa has written also one *Sakalāchārya-Mata-Saṃgraha*. It is a collection of teaching of all the teachers of the Bhakti-Cult of the 12th and 13th-century A.D. of Rāmānuja, of Vishṇusvāmin, of Nimbārka and of Mādhava. In the middle of the 13th century A.D., Viṣṇusvāmin propounded his own *Vedānta* theory. On his theory of *Vedānta* Vallabha (1478-1530) laid the foundation of a sect believing on the Krisna-cult. He wrote also a number of treatises and a commentary on *Vedānta*. Nimbārka too, whose age

is not determind accurately, but who must have lived after Rāmānuja, wrote a commentary on *Vedānta-Pārijāta-Saurabha* on the *Vedānta-Sutra*. Mādhava too is the founder of a sect. He is known also by the name Ānanda-*Tīrtha*. He lived from 1197-1275 A.D. and preached in the country as an itinerant. But, he succeeded merely through his most forceful discussion on the dualistic theory about the creation in which he has tried to effect a compromise between the *Vedānta* with *Sāṅkhya-Philosophy* and the *Bhāgavat-religion*. In the *Tatva-Saṃkhyāna* he has constructed in brief his thesis on this dualistic *Vedānta*. Mādhava was so much against Śaṅkara that his followers call the latter an incarnation of a demon who tried to lead man along a wrong path. "[40]

Narahari yati, has obeyed the instructions from his teacher, Mādhava, and stayed at the religious centre of Vaiṣṇavas in the temple of Śrī-Kūrmeśvara on the sea shore, near Kaḷiṅganagara, the capital of Kaḷiṅga-Maṇḍaḷ. In an inscription of that temple, there is a clear evidence that Narahari-tīrtha was present in that temple in 1264 A.D. on the auspicious day of *Kṛṣṇa-Janma* (8th *tithi* of the dark-fortnight of Bhādrapada), when he donated three gold Mādhas to feed '*Śrī-Vaiṣṇava-Bhojana*' which he organised for easy delivery of Devakī, mother of Śrī-Kṛṣna, in that auspicious night. The text of that inscription is quoted below

"स्वस्ति श्री (॥)शकवरुषंबुळु ११८६ नेंटि कन्य कृष्ण
९/३ ।
शुक्रवारमुन नरहरितीर्थ श्रीपादमुळु तमकु अभिं(भी)ष्टा-
र्थमुगानु श्रीकूर्मनाथुनि श्रीजयन्ति महोत्सवमुन
देवकीदेविसुखप्रसवार्थे में कोनि श्रीवैष्णवभोजन
निमित्तमुगानु श्रीकूर्मनाथुनि श्रीभण्डारमुन
मूंड्र माडळु वेट्टिरि पोलिकदकु, ई धर्म्ममु
आचन्द्रार्कमुगानु श्रीवैष्णववुळु चेल्ल-
पंगाळ श्री........ ।"

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40. M. Winternitz., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.-III, p-534-536.

It indicates that Narahari-tīrtha-Śrīpada was a devotee of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva like his predecessor, *sādhu*-Jayadeva, the renouned author of *Gīta-Govinda*. Narahari-yati has also endowed an *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* in the temple of Siṃhāchaḷa on the auspicious day of a solar-eclipse in 1291 A.D. In the next year he offered charity for Narasiṃhanātha in the temple of Siṃhanātha (the temple of Siṃhāchaḷaṃ) on behalf of Arjunarāj of Matsya-dynasty of Oḍḍāḍi (Oḍa-bāḍi-Maṇḍaḷa) for his son, Jayanta's health. It is necessary to state here that Arjunadeva was a close relative of the Gaṅga kings of Utkaḷa. His father's inscription is found in the temple of Pātāḷeśvara at Puri, which we will edit in the second volume along with the Telugu epigraph.

The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of Kaliṅga have introduced their religious principles with patronage of the Gaṅga kings. They are, therefore, responsible for change of the figure of the four-armed Mādhava into two armed Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and also for liberal consideration of ethnic differences that made the Hindus under hazardous position in the field of worship. That was the time when unity among Hindus was an absolute necessity to save their religion. Hence, the thinking section of the country accepted their philosophy and not only they tried to avoid difference between castes, but also language and religious belief. Thus, it created homogeneity among different cast-peoples in the country. It was well realised by a great person like Narahari tīrtha who held the *Gīta* in one hand and sword in the other. The king Narasiṃhadeva-(I), who became his disciple must have supported every action of his teacher to establish unity and order in his dominion. Thus, he might have planned to construct a temple of Surya-Nārāyaṇa (Sun god) on the sea-shore to make it acceptable by all sections of religion. After the system of *Pañcarātrika-Bhakti*, the cult was introduced in the old *Mādhava-Upāsana*, including the shape of Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of Satvata family likewise.[1] Several new festivals were introduced in the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama. One of them is *"Doḷotsava"*. It was called *'Govinda-Doḷa'* in the inscription (No.-32). The Nṛsiṃha-temple inscription mentions the following verse :

"शकाब्दे वसु-बाण-खेन्दुगणिते कृष्णद्वितीयामुखे ।
प्रादाच्छ्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य गुणवत् गोविन्ददोळादिने ।"

It means that a *'Dīpa-dāna'* was made in the second *tithi* of dark fortnight, in Śakāvda 1058 *(Vasu-Bāṇa-Khendu)* or 1136 A.D. on the day of *Govinda-Dola festival* The same festival is still continuing, but not in the 2nd *tithi* of the dark-fortnight. The famous festival of *Doḷa-Yātrā* of Madanamohana with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī is being performed from the tenth *tithi* of the bright-half of Phālguna for five days, *i.e.* upto the full-moon day of that month. Immediately after *Doḷa-Paurṇamī*, another festival called *'Candana-Yātrā'* of the same deity is performed for 21 days.

SIMULTANEOUS INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM

In the ancient age, this festival was called *'Vasantotsava'* or the festival of the spring. It is popularly known as *Doḷa-Yātrā* or *Holī*, observed by Hindus in all parts of India. There is a popular belief among scholars that Śrī Puruṣottama was originally the Buddha whom the Mahāyāna Buddhists have installed on the sea-shore. His tooth-relic was preserved in a monastery at Dantapura. Subsequently, it was removed to Siṃhaḷa (Śrī-Laṅka) by one Dantakumāra. Although it is a highly controversial topic, we cannot discard the idea since the Bhauma-Kara kings of the 8th century have ruled in Utkaḷa having used the titles of *Parama-Tathāgata* and *Paramopāsaka* etc. They constructed many Buddhist Caityas and installed the images of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara.

Many images, worshiped by the Mahāyānists, are found in the Śaiva and Viṣṇu temples of Orissā. From the Buddhist Chronicles of Siṃhaḷa, we get a hint regarding matrimonial relationship between the kings of Kaḷiṅga and the royal family of that Island. Hence, we cannot discard the view that originally the seat of Puruṣottama was in a Buddhist Monastery. But, after a change of social and political order in the 9th century, the entire out-look in religious field has taken a new shape.

The deity of Avalokiteśvara (Buddha) was changed into Lokanātha or Sarvalokaikanātha in Puruṣottama-Kṣetra, even though the great Buddha was incorporated into the *Avatāra* group of Viṣṇu.

In the 10th century, when the Śaiva Philosophy was popular in Utkaḷa, the Somavaṃśī king Yayāti-(II) took the reins of administration of that country and after the construction of the great temple of Liṅgarāja (Kṛttivāsa-Ś[illegible]) by him,

the supremacy of Buddhism was faded. But, the Buddhist legends were not wiped out from minds of people for which sake Buddha was respected as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Although Śaṅkara's Advaita Philosophy was popularised in Śri-Kṣetra, Rāmānuja and Mādhavācārya have dominated by establishing Vaiṣṇavism and Saktism. But, the Vedic Brāhmaṇas'superiority against Baudhas have gained king's support. An interesting legend, in this regard, is given in the *Mādalā-Pāñji*. It narrates that once there was a dispute arose between the king Choḍagaṅga and his *Rānī* on an issue, whether the Brāhmaṇas were great or the Baudhas. The king took the side of the former and *Rānī* supported the latter. They placed a snake in closed-pot and then asked both the parties to be present at *Darbār*. The king asked the Baudhas, "say, what is kept in the pot ? "They replied to the great satisfaction of the *Rānī* 'there is a snake in it" Then, the same question was put to the Brāhmaṇa's, who replied "there is a few ash" The Brāhmaṇa's reply dismayed the king. But, when the pot was opened, it was found that the Brāhmaṇa's answer was correct. The pot contained no snake but a little quantity of ash. The glorified king honoured the Brāhmaṇas and punished the Baudhas.

This might be a fabulous account, coined to prove that the spiritual power of Brāhmaṇas was greater than the Baudhas. The conception of those who followed Śaṅkara's philosophy did not regard any reformed idea, however solid that might be. But, the popular view of the New-Vaiṣṇavism could not prohibit the reform that took place in Utkaḷ-deśa in the 13th century.

Another legend states that a *Naiyayika Pandit* who would contradict the philosophy with theoistic teachings, was prohibited to go into the temples of Hindu God. He was a great *Nayāyika* and poet of Orissā, named Udayana who was prohibited from entering into the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama at Puri.

According to some scholars, Udayana's time is attributable to the second half of the 10th century. But, *Kavi* Udayana appears as the author of the *Praśasti* of the Inscriptions of Megheśvara Temple[41] at Bhubaneśwara and

41. *Ins. O.*, Vol.-III, pt.- 2, p-336.

Śobhaneśvara Temple at Niāḷi in Puri District. The Megheśvara Temple inscription was incised in the last part of the 12th century, when Anaṅgabhīmadeva-(II) was the ruler. The 33rd. verse of the Megheśvara *Praśasti* states that the poet Udayana was a *Kavi* and author of that *Praśasti*

"उदयनकविस्तस्यादेशात् प्रशस्तिविलासिनीं
सुललितपदन्यासै: शम्वद्विदग्धमनोरमाम्।"
ध्वनिभिरनिशं कण्ठे शिलष्टामलंकृति
हरिणीमतिरसतया शय्यायाम्ां प्रसाधितवानिमाम्॥"

If he is the same Udayana of the above legend, then we should accept his time as 1198 A.D. He is the author of *Kusumāñjaḷi* or *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali* in 72 memorial stanzas in which the existence of God is sought to be proved from the standpoint of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. Here he refutes particularly the atheistic teaching of the *Mīmāṅsakas* and also the author of causation of *Vedāntas* of *Sāṅkhya* and of the *Buddhists*. Against the *Buddhists*, he wrote his own polemic work of *Bauddha-Dhikāra* (fig on Buddhists) or *Ātmatatvaviveka*, in which there exist several commentaries. *Paṇḍitas* narrate a beautiful anacdote about this Udayana. Once the famous logician went on pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannātha and found the gate of the temple was closed on his arrival. At this, he got very much angry and hurled at the God the words

"ऐश्वर्य्यमदमत्तोसि मामवज्ञाय तिष्ठसे।
बौद्धेषु समायातेषु मामधीना तव स्थिति:॥"

'You are maddened with the pride of godship and want to ignore me? When the Buddhists rise up, your existence depends upon me.

THE COINAGE & MEASURES DURING GAṄGA-REGIME

Now we will divert our attention from the evolution of religion and philosophy and social reform which took place during the Imperial Gaṅgas to the evaluence of coinage and economic condition of the country.

The coins are minted once in a year on the day of *'Suniyā'* (in the 12th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada). That was also regarded as an auspicious birth day of Vāmana.

The gold-smith has to prepare a gold image of Vāmana for the celebration and also a silver image of Durgā, to be placed as mother goddess. In the 17th century the 'Aṅka' or Minting power was acquired from Puri by Nārāyaṇadeva of Khimuṇḍi, who belonged to the Gaṅga dynasty.

The *Mādha* coins are mostly minted in gold on the day of *Suniyā*. Another gold coin which was circulated in Utkaḷa was called Niṣka. Although both coins were used in this country, 'Mādha was not popular in India, but Niṣka was circulated in all countries.

In the *Prāyaścittatattvaṃ* and *Līḷāvatī-Sutraṃ* this table of coinage is found in gradation as follows

"वराटकानां दशकद्वयं यत:
स: काकिणी ताश्च पणश्चतस:।
ते षोडशं द्रम्म इहावगम्यो
द्रम्मैस्तथा षोडशभिश्च निष्क:।"

The table of coinage runs as follows

20 Varāṭakas = 1 Kākiṇī.
4 Kākiṇīs = 1 Paṇa.
16 Paṇas = 1 Drammа
16 Drammas = 1 Niṣka.

According to the *Prāyaścitta-tattvaṃ* by Raghunandana, we get the name of '*Purāṇa*' which is another coin, circulated in our country.

The table goes as follows

80 Varāṭakas = 1 Paṇa.
16 Paṇas = 1 Purāṇa.
7 Purāṇas = 1 Rajat.

The following various types of coin then invogue all mentioned in the inscriptions.

(1) Kabāḍi (Kauḍi) - No. 18.
(2) Suvarṇa-Mādha - No. 13.
(3) Mādha No. 15, 16, 17.
(4) Niṣka - No. 1, 2.

These are mentioned in the inscriptions of the temples of Puri, as stated in numbers, mentioned above.

The lowest coin 'Varāṭaka' (Seed of safflower) The above table was probably used in Utkaḷa. *Kapardaka* or *Kabāḍi (kauḍi)* in the place of *Barāṭaka*. So, in Orissa the table of coinage differs

80 Kabāḍis = 1 Paṇa.
16 Paṇas = 1 Purāṇa.

The actual value of Purāṇa should be (80 x 16) = 1280 *Kabāḍis*. In an inscription of Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple (No.18), we get information that in A.D. 1158, when the 3rd regnal year of Rāghavadeva was current, for installation of two perpetual-lamps in the temple (for a week to burn) three *'Paṇas'* of *Kabāḍi (Kauḍi)* or 240 *Kabāḍis* was granted.

Accordingly, 120 *Kabāḍis* were spent to burn an *'Akhaṇḍa-Dīpa'* for seven days. It is curious to suppose that a village, called Puraṇa-grāma was granted by Choḍagaṅga, in A.D. 1127 which seems to have been so named because its annual rent was one 'Purāṇa' (Coin), to be paid for maintenance of three cows endowed to Śrī-Puruṣottama. The same village was subsequently made a pros[illegible] Brāhmaṇa Śāsana by Anaṅgabhīmadeva in A.D. 1230 (Vide Nagari-Copper-Plate.) who granted lands to Brāhmaṇas at the time of *Pratiṣṭa* [illegible]ruṣottama during his visit to Dakṣiṇa-Tīrtharāja at Puruṣottama-Kṣetra in an occasion of Solar-eclipse *(Surya-Grahana)*. We need not repeat this as it has been stated before.

The gold *Mādha* was only to be minted in the day of *Suniyā* on the 12th of the bright-fortnight of Bhādrapada. Thus, after Anaṅgabhima-(III), when kingdom was transfered in the name of Śrī Puruṣottama, the minting ceremony was taken place in the temple where He was staying. We have already discussed it before. *Mādha* was also minted on copper by a brazier

although that type of coin has not yet come to light. The valuation of it is also unknown from any literature even that was usually circulated in Kaliṅga and Utkaḷa from the 11th century onwards. The earliest reference of it is coming from Vajrahasta's copper-plate-Inscription of 'Śakāvda' 982 (A.D. 1060). [42]

The word *'Māḍha'* seems to have been derived from a Dravidian word, *'Meḍa'* or *'Maāḍa'*, a colloquial term denoting 'middle' Perhaps, the value of that coin is in between two coins, namely *'Purāṇa'* and *'Niṣka'* The latter may be evaluated from an inscription of Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple (No-1) where five gold Niṣkas were granted to supply (ghee to burn) a perpetual-lamp in that temple as long as the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars would endure. Thus, the interest of five gold Niṣkas was sufficient to up-keep a lamp burning day and night with ghee. To-day, we cannot imagine that pure cow ghee is available to meet the price of ghee at Śri-Kṣetra as that was in 1111 A.D. A *Mahādāna* called *"Gosahasra-dāna"* was made by Rāghavadeva in his 3rd regnal year at the Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple (See Appx-I and No. 18)

In this connection we hardly disbelieve a local tradition that there was a *Go-Śāla* (Cow-shed) near the Mārkaṇḍeśvara-temple where a big tank was excavated. In an inscription of the same temple, (No. 18) Mahāraj Rāghavadeva announced that one thousand cows were granted for burning twelve perpetual-lamps in that temple.

"(कलिकाल)नितण (निस्तारण) करै
गङ्गाकुहहद सहस्रगोसह (स्रेकदान) कलाह।"

Kabāḍi was the lowest unit of coinage in Orissā & was counted by *Gaṇḍā* (four) and *Paṇa* (eighty).

It was used as minimum unit upto 1805. When the Bengal Regulation [illegible] of 1805 was put into force in Orissa, for its abolition & when the first settlement was started in Orissā, discontent of the people arose into highest degree because the payment of revenue through 'Coury' (*Kabāḍi*) was refrained by Company's Government.

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42. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol-XXI, *Ins. Or* Vol-III, pt-1., p-7-8.

The old system of measurement of land in Utkaḷa was kept alive in North-Gañjām and other coastal districts of Orissā. In an inscription of doubtful date at the Mukteśvara-temple of Khalikota, near *Nirmaḷajhara*, the word *'Bāṭi'* is mentioned.

In Dāsgoba plates of Rājarājadeva, *'Bāṭi'* is used in A.D. 1199. There are five inscriptions of the Pātāḷeśvara temple (Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23), incised in between 1223-36 A.D. in which *Bāṭi* and *Māṇa*, the two main land measuring scales, have been mentioned.

Another land-measuring unit is *gunṭha*, used in the copper-plate of Narasiṃhadeva-II. The *Mādaḷā-Pāñji* states that in the time of Anaṅgabhīma-III, the settlement of villages in Utkaḷa was re-organised. From epigraphical sources, however, it is evident that after annexation of Utkaḷa with Kaḷiṅga, the Gaṅga-Rulers have extended their kingdom from the Gaṅga in the North as far as the Godavari in the South. The agrarian policy of those kings was different from that of the previous Somavaṃśis. But, the revenue system of the newly acquired Utkaḷa-Deśa was not immediately changed to keep up the moral of peoples, as long as the Gaṅga-Capital was not shifted from Kaḷiṅga-Nagara on the bank of the Vaṃśadhārā to *Abhinava -Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka*, at the Mahānadī. So, that stupendous work of re-settlement was undertaken after a long interval. According to the *Mādaḷā-Pāñji*, it is Anaṅgabhīma-Deva who organised a detailed land-survey and settlement by appointing some eminent officers for the purpose. His administration was based on the scriptures and rules, mentioned in *Dharma-Śāstras*, such as Manu, Parāśara, Vyāsa and Yājñavaḷkya, appart from Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra*. Hence, his agrarian policy was made by liberal and fair means, and acceptable to all classes of peoples.

The frequent visit of famine and distress to the country, in the time of the Somavaṃśi rulers, was not faded from memory of the peoples. The heavy tax levied by those rulers had shivered the peasants of Utkaḷa. In those days the rulers used to collect tax from them in various ways, namely *Hasti-Bara-baḷivarda, cittoḷa, Andharuva, Prati-andharuva, Adatta, Paṭāti-Antarabāddi, Rintakabāddi, Bāsavaki, Viṣayāḷi, Haḷadaṇḍa, Vandha-Vandāpana, Vijaya-Vandāpana, Ahidaṇḍa* etc.

This smashed the back-bone of the land-holders, and in addition to it, frequent visit of famine had ruined the country which caused the down-fall of the *Somavaṃśīs* of Utkaḷa. A great author of *Nīti-Śāstra*, Somadeva says

"तत्र सदैव दुर्भिक्षं यत्र राजा विसाधयति।
समुद्रस्य पिपासायां कुतो हि जगति जलानि।"

The Ratnagiri inscription of Karṇadeva[43] states that he granted to *Rānī* Karpūra-Śrī a village with power of collecting the above named taxes from the people. Consequently, anarchy prevailed in the country for several years, even after extinction of the Soma-Dynasty from Utkaḷ.

During the Gaṅga-rule, we get no copper-plate-grant in Utkaḷa for about 87 years after capture of Utkaḷa-deśa by Choḍagaṅga in or about 1112 A.D. The first known copper-plate-grant to Brāhmaṇas was issued by Anaṅgabhīma-II's son Rājarāj Deva-III, in Śakāvda 1120 (A.D. 1198) at the sea-shore *(tīrtharāja)* of Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra on an occasion of solar-eclipse. According to that inscription, a village named Korada in Athāisa-khaṇḍa of Śāilo-Viṣaya of Utkaḷa-deśa, and the boundaries of the village being as settled previously, was granted in favour of some Brāhmaṇas, belonged to different *gotras*.[44]

The word of *Bāṭi* and *Māṇa* in Utkaḷa-deśa is, therefore, a local term which, in case of *Brāhmaṇa-Śāsana*, was used while measuring plots of land in back yard of each living house. The country of Utkaḷa was re-surveyed by Anaṅgabhīma through some expert officers, appointed by him. After this, the revenue-system was regulated, making the agrarian policy simple. After this, Anaṅgabhīma had undertaken the cultural enterprise, when he built some temples, excavated tanks or irrigation channels, laying out roads and growing topes. He had encouraged the learned brāhmaṇas by granting *Śāsanas* with beautiful houses to live including men of various castes to serve under them. His grand-father, Anaṅgabhīma-(II), had also paved the way for similar works as described in a *Praśasti* of the inscription of Megheśvara Temple. By [illegible]

43. *Ep. Ind.* Vol-XXXIII, p-263-274.
44. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.-1, p-249-262., *Ins. Or* Vol.-III, pt-1, p-7-11.

same time the Muslim raiders, being appointed by Mahmmad-I-Bakhtyar of Bengal, must have dissipated peace in the Northern-Borders. Ofcourse, their attempt of penetration into Utkaḷa was not successful owing to strong resistance by the Gaṅga Kings. But, the tranquillity of the country was not restored till the enemies were completely cleared off. Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, must have taken strong measures to protect Utkaḷa from Muslim aggression, when Delhi, Ājamere and the entire north-eastern border area of Hindusthan was granted by the Muslim Rulers. Their anti-Hindu policy was so sever that a large number of Hindu refugees had migrated to the safest country of Utkaḷa. Hundreds of learned Brāhmaṇas had arrived from various regions and received lands and houses, granted to them by the kings of Utkaḷ. Since then, more advanced reform in the field of culture and religion have taken place in the country.

Those Synchronized events have caused the change of the figure and Cult of Puruṣottama, although that had violated the rules of *Āgamas* and *Dharma-śastras*. The conservative Hindus too admited such changes due to hard pressure that appeared by Muslim iconoclasts in the country.

THE MUSLIM INVASION OF BENGAL AND THE SAVARA'S PARTICIPATION IN UTKAḶA-MILITIA & THEIR SERVICES IN THE TEMPLE OF PURUṢOTTAMA AT PURI.

After defeat of the Chauhān king Pruthvirāj-(III), by Ghori Muhammud at the second battle of Tarāin in 1192 A.D. the Muslim army proceeded towards Bihar and Bengal. In 1206 Rājā Lakṣhmaṇasena fled from his kingdom to take shelter in Orissa. After this, Ghiyas-Ud-Din who became the ruler of Bengal had marched his army towards Jājanagar (Orissā) where, due to strong defence by the Ganga king, he gained nothing but miserable defeat.

The Ministers of Utkaḷa must have advised the Gaṅga Kings to strengthen army by recruiting more fighters from all races to protect the extensive [illegible] of the country. The tribals, especially the Śavaras, the Khonds and the [illegible] were capable soldiers who are quite fit to face the Non-Hindu invaders [illegible] time. The hazardous war-technic of the Muslims was different [illegible]at of the Hindus. For instance, they used to march with a large number [illegible] before their army. In such case no Hindu soldier, who respected the

Cows as goddess, hardly raise weapons to kill them and then, their enemies. But, that technic did not affect to the tribal sentiment. Moreover, they were the excellent fighters in the hill tracts which surrounded the entire kingdom of the Gaṅgas. That sane advice by ministers, must have been accepted by the then king Narasiṃhadeva-I, who had taken both defensive and offensive measures against the Muslims of Bengal. Before marching his army to Bengal, he must have posted the tribal fighters at different sectors of the coastal area to safeguard from the rival attack by naval force. Therefore, one of the most important port at Koṇāraka, a large number of tribal army was posted to guard the religious centres of Puri and Bhubaneśwar. Most probably, to satisfy those tribals, he made a reformed image of Śrī-Jagannātha by introducing anthropomorphized figure. That is the first figure which we notice in the temple of Konārka.(see pl..) The Śavaras were also given some extra privilege in the great temple of Śrī-Jagannātha at Puri, after making them *Śuddha* (Pure) by changing their social habits, befitting to the *Sevakas* of that temple. They are now called *Śudha-Suāras* (Śavaras) who perform some rituals in the temple mainly at the time of *Nava-Kaḷevara* of the deities.

One of the Inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha-temple (No-14) states that Choḍagaṅga took active part in his court while discourse was going on among *Paṇḍits* and poets on *Rājanīti*, philosophy *(Vikaḷpa)*, *Dharma-Śāstra* and Literature. Participating in it he spoke sweet words like the great poet Kālidāsa.

Anaṅgabhīmadeva, who was a *Parama-Māheśvara* and *Parama Vaiṣṇava,* has made charities as per scriptures of *Dharma-Śāstra* and *Purāṇas*. His successor, Narasiṃhadeva-I, who constructed a monumental temple of the Surya-Nārāyaṇa (Sun God) was, like his father, not only a powerful empire but also a devotee of Lord Puruṣottama, whom he might have given a new shape for protection of the temple from enemies of Hindus. A great sage and *paṇḍit* like Narahari-Tīrtha, who stayed in the temple of Śrī-Kūrmam as a disciple of *Ānandatīrtha Puruṣhottamatīrtha,* was not only the king's teacher *(Guru)* also an adviser and administrator. Most probably, Narasiṃhadeva's activities in the field of religion and social reform, and his persistency in creation of unity with the tribal races was successful after consecrating a section of the Śavaras of the Mahendra-range to whom he, named "Śuddha-Śavara" or the "Purified Śavara" for employing them in the temple of Lord Puruṣottama.

We have already stated that the association of the tribal race was indispensable in Utkaḷa since there was repeated attack by Muslims to spoil the sanctum of Śrī-Jagannātha-temple and the deities. Although the Hindu soldiers of Utkaḷ were not inferior than the Muslim of Bengal; but when the latter appear with a procession of cows and in battle fields the Hindus, who regarded those animals as mother goddess, must have put their weapons down. To face that situation, Narasiṃhadeva must have employed the tribal army with elephant squadron. It is interesting to find such war scenery, depicted in the temple wall of Koṇāraka.

There is a traditional story regarding selection of *Sevakas* of Śrī-Puruṣottama by Yayātikeśarī who discovered the images from under a tree on the bank of a tank at Baribandha village after hearing at Gopalli village * in the dream about the real spot where the image of Śrī-Puruṣottama were to be found. The king was advised by the Lord in dream to "bring a cow adorned with gold and precious stones and let it roam about in the country with the declaration that any body could take away the jewels by killing the cow. It should be announced by beating of drums and who soever would say 'I will do this', he should be appointed as the *Sevaka*. It is he who shall be instrumental in bringing the deity back (to the temple). "Having heared this, the king acted accordingly." (Vide G.C. Tripāthi & H. Kulke, KAṬAKARĀJA-VAṂŚĀVALĪ, pp.62-63)

This story is befitting to our assumption about recruitment of the tribals, who never shrinks in battle to kill cow and capable to fight with the Muslim-army.

This traditional story seems distorted by linking the same with King Yayātikeśarī in the place of Narasiṃhadeva of the Gaṅga-dynasty. Ofcourse, more careful examination of such stories is necessary before taking them into the pages of history.

We have already stated that the Śuddha-Śavara class was employed in the service of Lord Jagannātha at Puri. Their home-land is at the foot of the Mahendra Mountain where from they migrated to Utkaḷa with the Gaṅga. They were recruited not only as *Dayitās* for the temple service but also [illegible]tion of the temples. In consideration of the importance of their service,

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* The two villages named Gopalli and Garābandha which may be identified with the villages of the same name at the Mahendra range of mountains, about 30 kms. to Parlākhemuṇḍi town.

the king Narasimhadeva-I, must have made some provision for them to create their faith on the deities of the main temple of Puri. We may assume it as one of the reasons why the Śavaras were brought into the fold of Hindu Community and made them believe that the Divine Ruler *(Sarvalokaikanātha)* being the Supreme Lord of this country, and cannot be confined to ethnic discrimination. The Gaṅga King is only his representative. Whose *Virudas* (titles) in copper-plate inscriptions were with the title of Lord Puruṣottama as *Caturdaśa-bhuvanādhipati* or the Lord of the 'Fourteen-worlds'. No human ruler of the earth can use such a title.

The title *'Caturdaśabhuvanādhipati'* is not a spurious or exaggeration of court-poets, but in it begot miraculous consequence. Not only that it subsided the internal disturbances by subordinate princes but also influenced the Hindus for unification under one holy banner of the eternal Lord who was personified as Śrī-Puruṣottama.

There are two important functions for which the service of the *Dayitās* (the *Śuddha-Śavaras)* were employed. Those are the *Navakaḷevara*, and *Aṇavasara.*

It is interesting to state here that Śrī-Puruṣottama was treated in Orissā not as a silent statue but a "Divine Emperor who perform every work like a king for instance, he is to clean his face after rising from bed in the morning, taking a little food including *Pān-Supāri* before he put on his garment to arrive at *Darbār (Snāna-Meḷā).* Then, after Puja of the Sun-god, he takes the morning meal *(Sakāḷa-Dhūpa)*; After this, his mid-day meal and mid-day rest *(Madhyāhna-Pahuḍa)* is to be performed. Similarly, the evening *Dhūpa*, and putting of the royal-dress to appear before peoples to listen their complaints etc. and then he goes to bed.

The Divine-Emperor in the form of a human being also suffers from illness during *Aṇavasara* for fifteen days before *Ratha-Yātrā*, in the month of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July). In the face of such human routine, he is also liable to death and takes birth. That important function was assigned to the Śavaras *(Dayitās)* ... to move in the forests to cut a suitable tree fetching specific logs for ... Śavar of new images. This conception coincides the precept that any body wh... to the world, will be destined to die and after death his birth is inevit...

"जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युर्ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च।"
(श्रीमद्भगवदगीता)

In the *Bhagavat-Gīta* [45] Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says to his disciple Arjuna; "In this world there are two kinds of *Puruṣa*, one is perishable and the other is imperishable. The bodies of all the living being is perishable, but the soul *(ātmā)* in a *Kūṭa* a(cavity), within the perished body, is imperishable:

"द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च।
क्षरस्सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते।"
(गीता.अ.१५-१६ श्लो.)

The perishable wooden frame of Lord Puruṣottama contained a cavity *(Kūṭa)* in which there is the *Ātmā (soul)* which was transfered from the old wooden-frame to a newly built similar structure of wood. This wonderful function is called *Nava-Kaḷevara* (New-body) festival. This function takes place in the temple in mid-night by the *Rājā* or one of his deputies, very secretely. Then the old body of the deities are burried under ground, specified at the *'Kovili-Vaikuṇṭha'* (gravyard-temple).

The usual *Śuddhi*-functions (cremation) are accomplished by *Dayitās* who observe *'Aśauca'* (impurity) for ten days as per a stipulated social custom of Hindus.

We believe that the cavity *(Kūṭa)* in the wooden statue of the deity contained an imperishable *'Śaḷagrāma-Śiḷā'* to whom the Hindus of all section regard as supreme object of divinity. Hence, the expected clamour from minds of Hindus against the unprecedented image of Śrī-Puruṣottama could be solved.

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45. *Bhagavat Gīta* - cha-15, verse - 16.

SĀDHU JAYADEVA, THE AUTHOR OF GĪTAGOVINDA

The language of Jayadeva's *'Kāvya'* was so charming that dancing girls (*Māhāri* or *Devadāsī*) were attracted to sing the songs in the temple to please the Lord Puruṣottama (Jagannātha). We may presume that the *Nāṭa-Mandira* was constructed by Anaṅgabhīma for the purpose of entertainment of dance and music by a party called *'Sampradāya'*. The same system was adopted in the temples of Śrī-Kūrmeśvara and Madhukeśvara from the time of Vajrahasta V, the grand-father of Choḍagaṅga. Therefore, a Telugu *'Sampradāya'* was appointed in the temple of Puruṣottama after it was consecrated in 1230 A.D. by Anaṅgabhīma, while the songs of *Gītagovinda* attained popularity among the Vaiṣṇavas.

Sādhupradhāna Jayadeva was born in Kenduvilva, which may be identified with the village of Kenduli of Cuttack district. He became a *Vaiṣṇava-Sādhu* when he stayed at Śrī-Kūrmam, an important seat of *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* of Kaḷiṅga. Many learned Vaiṣṇavas, belonged to the schools of Rāmānuja and Mādhavācārya, have assembled there under the patronage of Gaṅga Kings. That attracted *Kavi*-Jayadeva to spend his life at Śrī-Kūrma as a *sādhu* (hermit). After he composed the Gītagovinda in beautiful style in Sanskrit he was called *Sādhu-Pradhāna* or the chief hermit of that institution. Many men and women might have taken *Dīkṣyā-Mantra* from him, which fact is assumed from an inscription of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneśwar [46]. Since that inscription was incised in the tenth regnal year of Rāghavadeva, son of Choḍagaṅga, we may fix the date of the *Sādhu-Pradhāna* Jayadeva, the renowned author of *Gītagovinda*, in the second half of 12th century. It gives a clear idea how propagation of the later *Vaiṣṇava* Philosophy was developed, basing on Rāmānuja's Dvaita Philosophy.

The doctrines of *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, as well as the religious code by *Vijñāneśvara* or *Yājñavaḷkya-Smṛti*, was taken as authority for all ritualistic performances of Śrī-Puruṣottama. It will explain why the four-armed Viṣṇu...

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46. *Ins. Or.*, Vol.-III, pt-II, p-294.,
O.H.R.J., Vo -V, No.-4, p-179-182.

re-shaped as two armed Kṛṣṇa, holding *Śaṅkha* and *Cakra*, but not like Gopīnāth, holding *Vaṃśī* (flute). Therefore, we may assume that Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* had little access to the temple until Pratāparudra Gajapati, has firmly proclaimed through an inscription of 1499 A.D.[47] that, the music-party of Śrī-Mandira should sing no other song except *"Gīta-Govinda"* by Jayadeva. It must have happened when he accepted the philosophy of *Acintyācintya* by Śrī-Chaitanya, whose disciple he became later.

In the reigning period of Pratāparudra, Śrī-Chaitanya's halt at Puri before his mysterious disappearance has rendered no major effect on Śrī-Jagannātha-temple-administration, although a few minor rituals, relating to *Kṛṣṇa-Līlā* were adopted. The mark of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas *tiḷaka* or *cita* on forehead of the deities was not altered.

THE SCRIPT & LANGUAGE USED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR WRITERS

The script used in the inscriptions of the Puri-temples belong to the North-East-Kutila type and South-Indian type. In the present volume, we are dealing with inscriptions contained the former type of letters attributed to the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.

According to some scholars, this script is named *'Gauḍīyān-type'* and some scholars also call it *'Nāgara'* type. Thus, there is a different of opinion among scholars in this regard. We think that the character, used in Madhya-Bhārat by *Haihaya-Kāḷachuris* and the *Pratihāras* and in the east by *Pāḷas* and *Senas* of Bengal together with the kings of Kāmarupa, have contained the same script with slight different type while compared with the letters used in Utkaḷa in the 12th century A.D. So, it will be proper to call this type of letters such as *kha, ga, gha, ja, ta, na, pa, s'a, sa, la, ha,* are used in the present Oriya alphabets unchanged or a little change. Therefore we called it.

'North-East-Indian Kutila type'

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47 Śrimandir, *Jaya-Vijayadwār* - Oriya inscription of Pratāparudradeva. etc.

Due to prevalence of palm-leaf as writing material in this region, and the letters are engraved with sharp iron stylus *(Lekhana)*, to protect the palm-leaf from being torned if angular shape of letters were engraved, the scribes have adopted the curved patron of letters which we call *Kuṭilākṣara*. The letters adopted in the inscriptions of Puri temples are, therefore, belong to the 'North East-Indian' '*Kuṭila*' style'.

The engravers of those inscriptions who used little chisels, were not careful in trans-scribing contents from palm-leaf to slabs of stone. That made many epigraphs erroneous and also unreadable.

We have bitter experience when we try to distinguish some alphabets from one another. For instance, the letters *ba, ra, ca*, and *dha*, appear almost same. In such case, we are to labour hard to make correct sence of the record. Except a few epigraphs of Nṛsiṃha temple, all the votive records are found either damaged or incised defectively. For example, there are some records, written in Sanskrit verse, using some *Chandas* (meters) such as Sragdhara, Sardula-vikriḍita, Anuṣṭubh etc. But, they were wrongly copied by the scribe who was ignorant of Sanskrit. Such carelessness is only seen in those inscriptions where private pilgrims were the donor. But, in the case of kings, the brazer or scribe was more careful. For example, the inscriptions No.(14), etc. are flawless.

In such case, well trained officers designated "*Akṣapaṭala*" of ancient time and changed to 'Śrī-Karaṇa' during the Imperial Gaṅgas were appointed. They were the record-keepers being recruited from the Kāyasta or Karana caste only. During the Gaṅga-Administration at Kaliṅganagara, the Śrī-karaṇas were regarded as *Śuddha Vaiśya*, the third division of the *Varṇāśrama* , a step higher than the *Śūdras*. According to *Dharma-Śāstras*, such as Manu, Parāśara, Gobhila etc. and the *Mahābhārata*, the primary duty of the Vaiśya class is '*kṛṣi*', *Gorakṣā* and *Vāṇijya* (cultivation, cow-herd and trade). But, the Śrī-Karaṇas of Kāyasta caste was mainly employed as record-keeper in the Gaṅga Administration. Therefore, they were given higher status and called '*dvija*' (twice born) being allowed to be consecrated through *upanayana* like Brahmaṇas. The Śrī-Karaṇas were granted a group of village called 'Bommāli' near Kaliṅga-nagara. Since then, they have been recognised as 'Bommāli-Karaṇa' with title '*Bisṭi*' or noble. The Gaṅga Rulers have appointed them to hold the

temple-administration which differs from the ordinary administration of the state. Hence, they received adequate facility of education from Vaiṣṇava-scholars who stayed in the temples of Śrī-Kūrmeśvara and Siṃhāchaḷa, the two important seats of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. The Śiṣta Karaṇa officers, have not only well versed in Sanskrit but also learnt South Indian language to keep contact with *Sādhus* (Sages) and preceptors of religion who came from the countries of Telugu and Tamil Speaking area. After Choḍagaṅga and his successors have shifted the Gaṅga capital from Kaḷiṅga-nagara to Vārāṇasī-Kataka, those officers also came to settle in Puruṣottama-Kṣetra (Puri) and Ekāmra-Kṣetra (Bhubaneśwar) to hold the offices in the temples under royal patronage. Then, they were designated as *'Śrī-Karaṇa'* and *'Deuḷa-Karaṇa'*. They maintained records and accounts of said temples. We assume that they were the writers of votive inscriptions in Sanskrit and Sanskrit mixed Oriya and Telugu language as desired by pilgrim-donors. Similar inscriptions are found in the temples of Madhukeśvara (at Mukhaliṅgaṃ), Śrī-Kūrmaṃ and Siṃhāchaḷaṃ, under patronage of the Gaṅga Rulers, in Utkaḷ. The *Deuḷa-Karaṇas* must have played an important role as writers of the *'Mādaḷā-Pāñji'* , the main temple record, which might have been started for recording day to day affairs from the time of Anaṅgabhīma-III, after *Pratiṣṭa* (consecration) of the temple and deities was accomplished. Hence, we get many reliable accounts regarding the temple-administration as well as the genealogy of the Gaṅga Rulers with a few digressions due to some intermixed fact in the time of re-writing from old and torned palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Pāñji.*

Those officers, who were employed in the 13th century to write the *'Pāñji'* might have borrowed some hear say or traditional accounts regarding the pre-Gaṅga rulers of Utkala. As such, a long list of fictitious 'Keśarī-dynasty' was inserted in it, for which sake, the *Mādaḷā-Pāñji* was expunged from history.

The language, adopted in the inscriptions, are not correct either due to author's poor knowledge in language or sheer negligence of the person who incised them.

Those Śiṣtha-Karaṇas who were employed at Siṃhāchaḷa temple by the Gaṅga rulers have used Telugu mixed Oriya language in some inscriptions. In the time of Bhānudeva-I, a record incised in Laxṣmi-Nārasiṃha Temple [48] m[illegible] [illegible]ere[illegible]der

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[48] No-120, *Ins. Or* Vol-V, pt-III, p-975-6.

"वीरश्रीवाणुदेव राजुल समस्त ८ स्राहि मकरकृ ११
सि रविवारे कलिङ्गदण्डपाटपरीक्षामहापात्रभुवनानन्द-
संधिविग्रहिङ्कर अधिकारे कलिङ्गपरीक्षामहापात्रपरिहारा-
नन्द सन्धिविग्रहिङ्कर अधिकारे माजि समस्त वेहरण-
विद्यमाने ठाकुरङ्कर आयुष्कामार्त्त (र्थे) श्रीनरसिंग (ह)
नात(थ)देभ(व)ङ्कर अमृतमणहिकि भिआइला
निशां(शं)कभाणु(नु) भोग १ ल अर्स ४ वापुला
४ कोरडवड(डा) ४ जेवट(घ) लु लादिक १ पण(णा)
कलसि २ पनुविडिया ५ गु(आ)गो ५ दों(धं)डा-
माल १ पत्रिप(फ)ल २ कपु(र्पु)र मे(मि) साचन्दन
कलिसि १ तिगुणि दुदु(ध) कुंच १ एतक खण्ड
म(में)चे एतक नित्यप्रसादकु मद्ये(ध्ये)।"

The underlined words are not pure Oriya but Telugu mixed. Similarly, in the temple of Śrī-Jagannātha at Puri some Telugu words[49] have been used, such as *Aḍapa, Kovili,*[50] *Baḍā, Amālu, Paluā, Dhanḍāmāla, Siṅgāra, Kuḍuā, Tāḍia, Ḍora, Leṅkā, Baratana, Māṇḍua, Appālu, Mājhi, Śrāhi, Pasāyita, Gundicā,* etc. These south Indian words must have been introduced in Orissa through the Śiṣṭa-Karaṇas. We have enough reason to believe that philosophy and literature which developed in South-India could be taken to the North and East Indian territories through Orissa. It was possible when the Gaṅga Rulers of Orissa have given necessary aid to pilgrims from South who used to halt at Puruṣottama before going to the North. They were provided with assistance of Deula-Karaṇas who might have acted as inter-communicate agency from South Indian regions. They could ease the language difficulties of

49. *Record of Rights., The Puri Śrī-Jagannātha Temple* - p. II, (A record of all 'Nitis') p-13-29 (Oriya) edition.
50. The word *Koviti* or *koyili* is definitely a Telugu. Śrīraṅgam Temple is called *"koyili"* (Vide - *History of Tirupati.*, ed. 1962, p. 43 48.

those South-Indian people in North-Eastern Territories, being employed by the Imperial Gaṅgas. That procedure adopted in Utkaḷ, must have tightened the social integrity between the South and North-East-Indian peoples at large.

There are some Sanskrit-verses used in the inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha emple by *Deuḷa-Karaṇas*. For example, No-1-Inscription is beginning with a verse in *Sragdharā*(metre) although it was closed from the second *Pada*. The last four lines of that inscription contain another verse in *Anuṣṭubh chanda* is not distorted. One Nārāyaṇa having 'fair knowledge' *(Sumati-Vara)* is the donor. We may identify him with a court-poet or *Sabhāsad* (noble) of the Gaṅga Kings. He appears in another inscription at Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple (No-8), where his designation is mentioned as *'Sāma-vāji'* or *Somayāji*.

A few inscriptions are also written in Oriya language. One damaged Oriya inscription of the time of king Rāghavadeva, son of Sriodgaganga, is found in Mārkaṇḍeśvara-temple (See No-18). Although only two Sanskrit words, i.e. *"Rāghavadevasya"* and *"Mārkaṇḍeśvarasya"*, have been used in it, the rest is classical Oriya. The words 'Karili' and *Kalāi* are two *Kriya* (verb) denoting 'did' and 'done', used in old Oriyā literature such as in the *Oriyā Mahābhārata* by Saraḷādāsa (15th century A.D.). In this inscription the word *'Kavāḍi' 'Kauḍi' (Kapardaka)* is an old Oriya word *'Bāraha' 'Bāraṭi'* also Oriya.

In the Pātāleśvara-temple, almost inscriptions except one are written in Oriya language, mixed with Sanskrit here and there. For example

"वाम्रपाठीगोरि ग्रामक्षात यउठपलि नैवेद्यार्थ श्रीघृत-
व्यञ्जनदधिताम्बोलसहिते प्रादात् -----' (Vide No. 23).)

The underlined words are Sanskrit. There are some words having two consonants mixed and formed a single letter like diphthongs, such as 'Puruṣotmadeva' for 'Puruṣottama deva' (No-20). In the same temple there is another inscription (No.21) which uses the classical Oriya such as "

"देवङ्कै = देवंकु, आंईउ = आयुष, माणकै = माणकु,
फुलहार १० कै = फुलहार १० कु

In another inscription (No.23) we get a similar use such as

"श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवंक प्रदातव्य विसुपाठी गोचरे"

(In the knowledge of Visupāṭhi). The mixed language Oriya with Sanskrit such as

"हली चक्री सुभद्रा पिंछोञ्च कौरधर्माणस्या
तस्मा ए अर्थ ------" (No.-23)

Some orthographic error noticed in No. 14, is given here under:

भटारक = भट्टारक
पसुराम = पर्शुराम
त्रीकलीङ्ग = त्रिकलिङ्ग
केसरि = केशरी
पुणावतार = पूर्णावतार
स्रौत = श्रौत
दिकपाल = दिक्पाल
दासंरथि = दाशरथी
माहाक्षत्रा = महाक्षत्री
सिमन्तिनी = सीमन्तिनी
शास्यतोयस = शाश्वतोय
श्रीगङ्गसिङ्ग = श्रीगङ्गसिंह

The process under which the old temples of Puri were administered was not so much expensive as that of 'Śrī-Puruṣottama' temple of the present day. It was after the Emperor Anaṅgabhīma-III who relinquished his imperial status in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama and himself being a humble servant, *Rāuta* under him. The royal decl together with thirty-six *Niyogas* (Services) was transferred to the

A number of new rituals were performed and grants were made by Anangabhīma and his successors to please Śrī-Puruṣottama. They were accomplished as per sacred treatises like *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, According to these treatises, there is no more superior *Dharma* of a king than distributing wealth for religious purpose what he gained from war; and he should create perpetual safety to his subjects. In Orissa, the Gaṅga Rulers have followed the same principle as stated in the *Bṛhaspati-Smṛti, Āditya-Purāṇa* and *Dānasāgara* etc.

"नातः परतरो धर्मो नृपाणां यद्रणार्जितम्।
विप्रेभ्यो दीयते द्रव्यं प्रजाभ्यश्चाभयं सदा॥"

In Nāgari-Copper-Plate grant of Anaṅgabhīma-III, all those *Dharma-Śāstras* have been referred to. We, therefore, presume that the rituals, introduced in the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama by him must have been based on the scriptures of *Dharma-Śāstra*, referred to in his grants. The designations assigned to the *Sevakas* of the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama *Mudrāhasta (Mudiratha* or *Muduli), Pasupālaka-Sevaka* or *Pasupālaka, Śrīkaraṇa* or *Deulakaraṇa, Leṅkā, Pāḍhi, Nāyaka, Mālākāra, Viṇā-gāyaka, Daṇḍachhikārī, Adhipāka-Maṇiyā, Deva-dīpa-Vāhaka, Pradīpa-nirvāpaka, Cāmkārī* and *Sāma-jāji*. Most of the services have now been discontinued although more *sevakas* were added with some new designations, such as *Haḍapa, Karābadu, Suāra, Pātri-baḍu, Pāni-āpaṭu, Prati-harī, Mekapa, Candana-ghaṭuāri, Khuṇṭiā, Parīkṣā, ghaṇṭuā, Vajanti, cho, pradhāni-Sevaka, Mahārī, Pañjikāra, Purohita* etc.

The system of *Naivedya* and the items of *Bhoga* for Śrī-Puruṣottama in the 12th century, was only a few, such as, *Cāula* (rice), *ghṛta* (ghee), *dahi* (curd), *Vyañjana* (curry) and *panā* (sugger-water) with *Tāmbola* (*Pānadiya*). Before offering to the deities, the food-materials were called *Amaniyā*, (uneaten), Pure and tasteful food and dress, but not gaudy type of the modern time.

For maintenance of all the luxuriant expenditure of the temples of ... from the usual state-grants, many *Bhaktas* (devotees) have ... property by land or money or both in the names of the deities. ... of the grants were made to Śrī-Puruṣottma at his temple to burn

Akhaṇḍa-dīpa (perpetual-lamp) which was a custom to keep the temples luminous and unperturbed. Most of the devotees had come from Kaliṅga or the Southern regions. Many of them were loyal officers of the synchronous Gaṅga-Rulers. Some of them were posted in Utkaḷa by Choḍagaṅgadeva after he amalgamated Kaḷiṅga with Utkaḷa under a single administrative unit when the Somavaṃśis had become extinct, in or about 1113 A.D. We have stated before that upto 1126 A.D. the name of Chodagangadeva was not mentioned in any inscription, so far discovered from Puri. It was, therefore, led us to believe that the Gaṅga Ruler's recognition as suzerain power in Utkaḷa was ignored for a few years. Therefore, Choḍagaṅga must have posted some of his efficient officers who visited Śrī-Puruṣottama-Kṣetra to offer homage and adore in temples there. For example, one Sommana Rāya, son of Vaṅkuṇa-Nāyaka, governor *(pāḷaka)* of Khimeda (Khimida) has issued a votive inscription at Nṛsiṃha-temple in *Śakāvda* 1048 (=1126 A.D.) in favour of Śrī-Puruṣottama (No.3). In that inscription he mentions the name of Choḍagaṅga (the ruler), which indicates that till 1126 A.D. the king was not regarded as the Ruler of Utkaḷa.

Apart from deputing officers to establish tranquillity in the dis-turbed area of Utkaḷa, some *Paṇḍits* and great poets *(Mahākavis)* were also deputed to sing the glory of the Gaṅga-kings to appease the subjects, which was an old system in *Rājanīti*. In order to create confi-dence in people's mind, the poets might have to sing the glory of Choḍagaṅgadeva, who was able enough to eradicating misery and bringing prosperity after defeat of the weak rulers of Utkaḷa and Veṅgī-Deśa. where he could fix two pillars of victory on both sides of the boundaries i.e. one at the river Gaṅga in the East and the other at the Godāvarī in South. A verse, engraved in the Korni copper-plate-inscription will corroborate the above fact.

"पूर्वस्यां दिशि: पूर्वमुत्कलपतिं राज्ये निधायाद्भुतं
पश्चात् पश्चिमदिक्तटे विघटितं वेङ्गीशमप्येतयो: ।
लक्ष्मीबन्धनमालिकामिव जयश्रीतोरणस्तम्भयो-
र्बध्नाति स्म समिद्धकीर्त्तिविभवः श्रीगङ्गचूडामणिः ॥"

The *mahākavi* Nārāyaṇa visited Puri from Kaliṅga to donate a lamp in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama, in 1113 A.D. (Vide No. 1). His presence in Utkaḷa, immediately after Choḍagaṅga's subjugation of Utkaḷa, takes us to belive that *Mahākavi* Nārāyaṇa might have been deputed by Choḍagaṅga to appease the peoples of Utkaḷa and to restore confidence in favour of the Gaṅga Administration.

A military officer named Potāyā-leṅka,[51] is mentioned in an inscription of Nṛsiṃha-temple, in 1126 A.D. He is also recorded as *Senāpati* (commander) in 1145 A.D. in an inscription of Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅga. Hence, his presence at Puri is perhaps to watch and guard the safety of Utkaḷa on behalf of his master, the Gaṅga-Rulers.

Another officer named Bhīmanātha Śrīkaraṇa (writer) is mentioned in two inscriptions of Madhukeśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅga. He was the son of Potama Nāyaka who belonged to the *Kāyasta* or *Karana* caste of Arsavelli (Village). Bhīmanātha used the titles of *Śrīkaraṇa*, *Rāja-taṇḍarī* and *Rāja-Vidyādhara* in 1133 A.D. Another Śrī-Karaṇa named Surapota, belonged to the same Ārṣavelli-kāyasta-caste, is mentioned as donor of a perpetual-lamp in Nṛsiṃha-temple in 1150-51 A.D. (No.17) and also in the temple of Suryanārāyaṇa (Sun-God) at Ārsavelli. In 1132 A.D. using the titles of *Rājanārāyana*, *Śrī-Karaṇa*, *Rāja-Vadihasta* and *Puravari*. Another inscription of the same officer is found in the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅga dated in 1134 A.D. Choḍagaṅgadeva's brother, Vīra Śrī Pramāḍi Rāja, has visited Puri in the 60th *śrāhi* of Choḍagaṅgadeva, i.e. 1134-35 A.D. He granted a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara, where he honoured the poets, sages, hermits and *Sādhus* like Śiva (Śaiva ascetics) who lived there (Vide No. 10). After the 60th *Aṅka* year of Choḍagaṅgadeva, his 61st *Aṅka* Ceremony was performed in the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama's (Nṛsiṃha-temple) as per inscription No. 11. Vīra-Pramāḍi-raja was present at Puri, perhaps to attend the birth ceremony (*Ṣaṣtipurti*) of his brother when five principal deities, such as Gaṇapati, Śiva, Surya and Ambikā, including Śrī-chakrī or Puruṣottama were devoted. In that inscription (No. 11) there is a passage in lines 4 and 5

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51. *Ins. Or.*, Vol-III, pt- , p-84.

which is an important proclamation regarding existence of peace and tranquillity on all sides in the empire of Choḍagaṅgadéva. (चोडगङ्गदेव) Provision was made for maintenance of the temple's huge amount of landed property, granted by kings and also by private persons on permanent basis. A list of such landed property, granted in the name of Śrī-Puruṣottama, is given below from those epigraphs

(1) Puraṇa-grāma[52] with three cows.
(2) Niraḷo-grāma with (half-portion).
(3) Madhupuṇa-grāma in Jaḷakhaṇḍa Viṣaya.
(4) Madhupuṇupura (32 *Māṇas*).
(5) ....(P-*Bāṭi*).
(6) Murad (P-*Bāṭi*).
(7) Rābaṅga[53] - Āḷasanā (*Pāñca-Bāṭi*).
(8) Khaṇḍa-sāisa - (2 *Bāṭi* and 5 *māṇa*).
(9) Yauṭhapali.
(10) A *paḍā* (hamlet) of Āndhavara-Viṣaya.

"श्रीपुरूषोत्तमदेवस्य प्रतिष्ठासमये काश्यपस्य (स)गोत्राचार्य चन्द्रकरशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय च द्विवाटिपरिमित भूमि प्रदत्तः। श्रीपुरूषोत्तमस्य प्रीतये धारापूर्वकमाचन्द्रार्कमुपभोगाया- करीकृत्य प्रादात् ।"

....तथा अभिनववाराणस्यां भगवतः श्रीपुरूषोत्तमदेवस्य सन्निधौ मकरामावास्यायां रविवारे कुचिण्डा विषये विलासपुर-ग्रामे दानसागरे विष्णुधर्मोक्तां यवगोधूमेषु सन्ततामष्टशतातिरिक्त (चतु)र्वाटि परिमित भूमि भारद्वाजगोत्राय देवधरशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय यजुः सामान्तर्गत काण्व-कौथुम-शाखैकदेशाध्धायिने श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय प्रीतये

52 'Puraṇa-grāma' was on the bank of the Mahānadī near Cuttack and the same village was converted to a Brāhmaṇa-Śāsana, as stated before, by Anaṅgabhīmadeva in 1230 A.D.

53 'Rābaṅga' may be identified with the modern Rāhāṅga in the Puri District

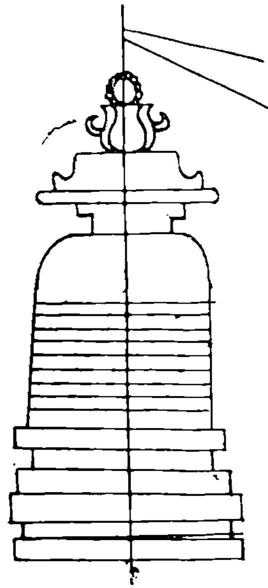
Plate No. XXXIII



Nrsimha Temple by the side of the Nāṭamandira,

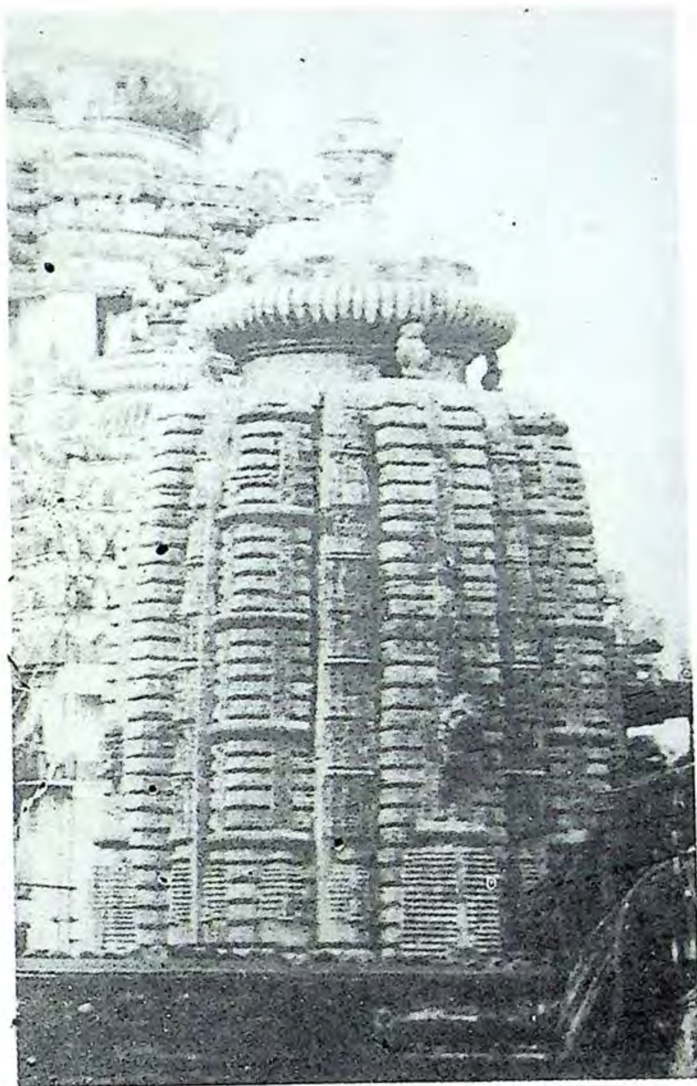
Śrī - Jagannātha Temple, Puri

Plate No. XXXIV



As per Diagram Copied from an old Manuscript of the *Silpa-śāstra* (*Rekha-Model*)

Plate No. XXXV



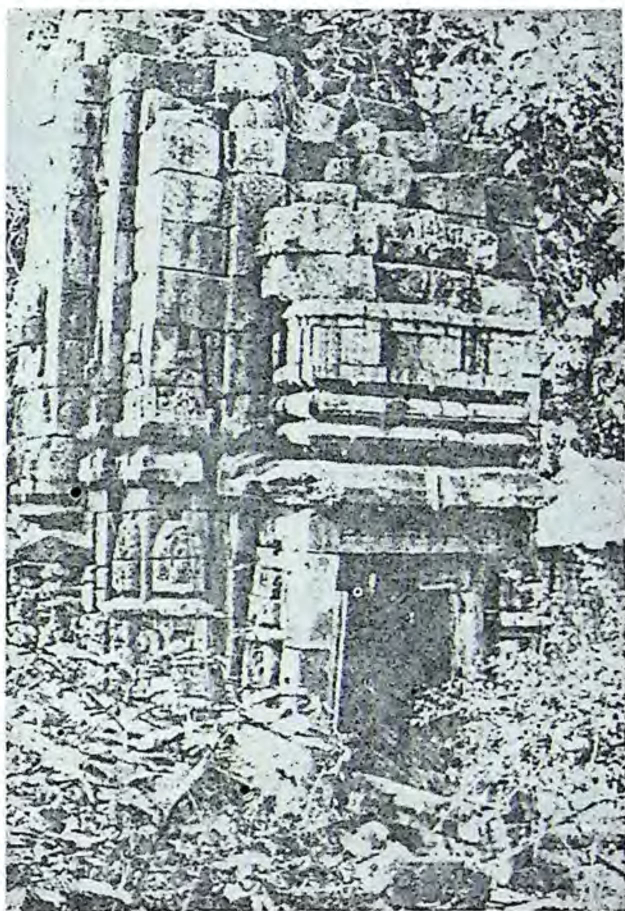
Temple of Nṛsimha in the Premises of Śrī Jagannātha Temple, Puri.

Plate No. XXXVI



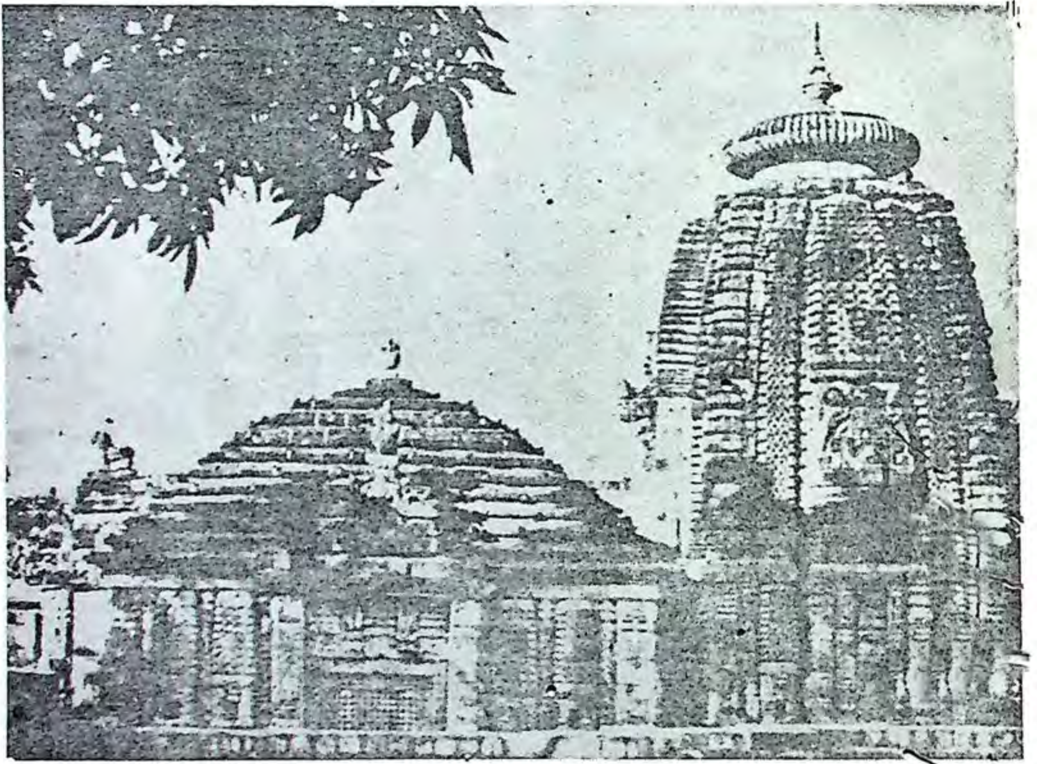
Mârkaṇḍeśvara Temple, Puri

Plate No. XXXVII



Manibhadreśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar.

Plate No. XXXVIII



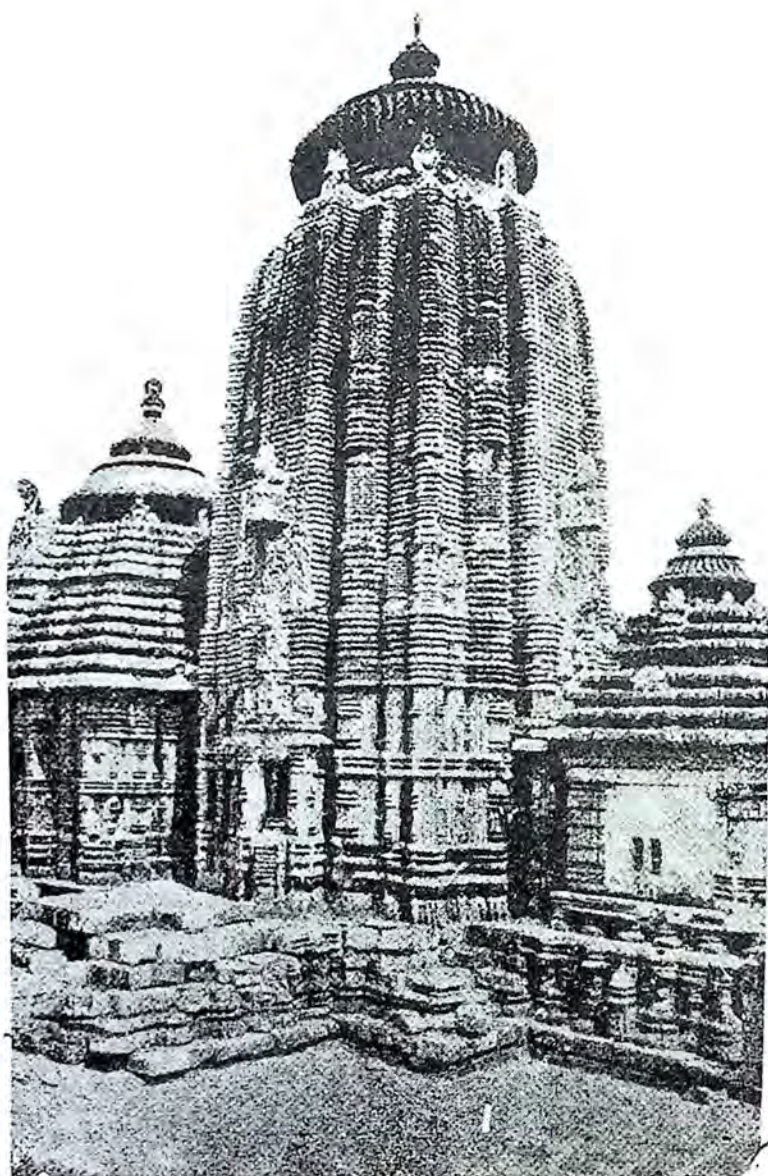
Muktesvara Temple, Bhubaneswar

Plate No. XXXIX



Lord Jagannatha Temple, Puri

Plate No. XL



Ananta Vasudev Temple, Bhubaneswar

Plate No. XLI



The Sun Temple of Konarka

Plate No. XLII



Kantilo, tower with erotic sculpture in Nilamādhava

Plate No. XLIII



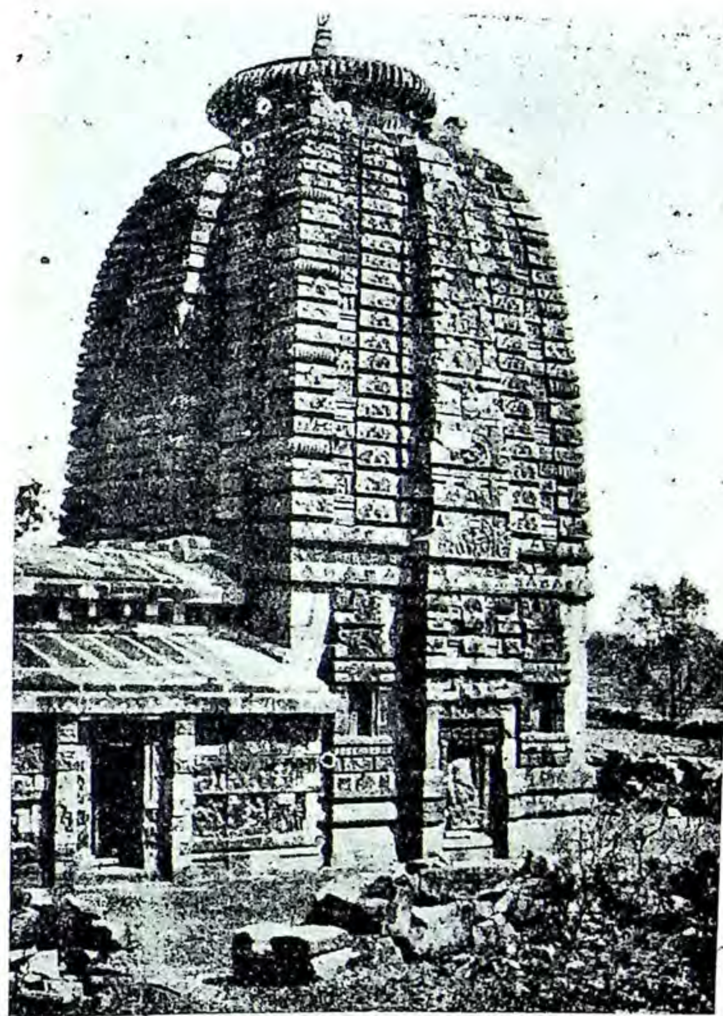
Nilamâdhava Temple, Kantilo (10th Century A.D.)

Plate No. XLIV



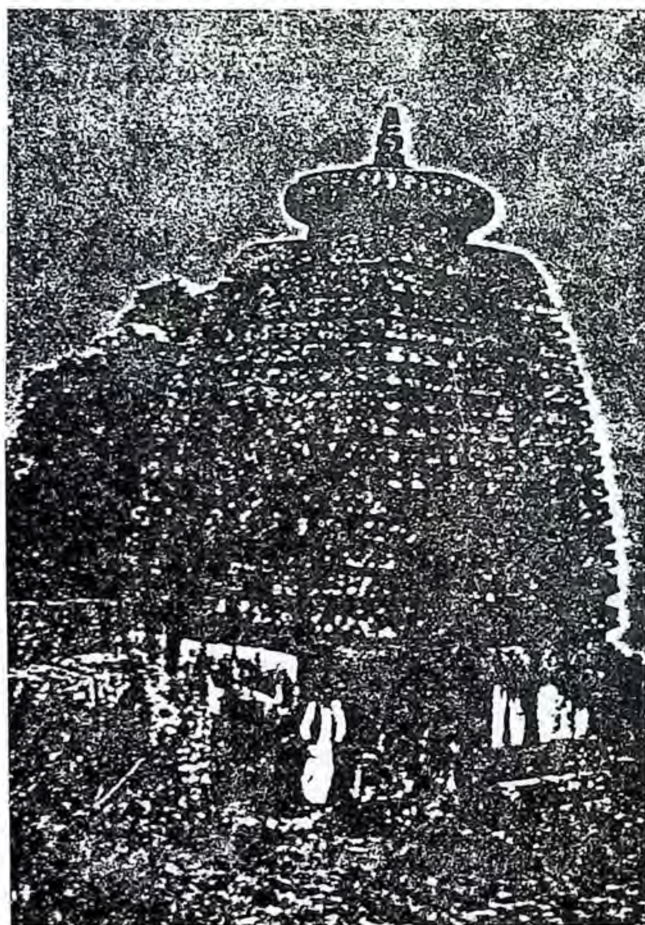
Nilakaṇṭheśvara Temple, Jagamandā - Hill (Koraput District)
(7th Century A.D.)

Plate No. XLV



Parsurāmeśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar
(7th Century A.D.)

Plate No. XLVI



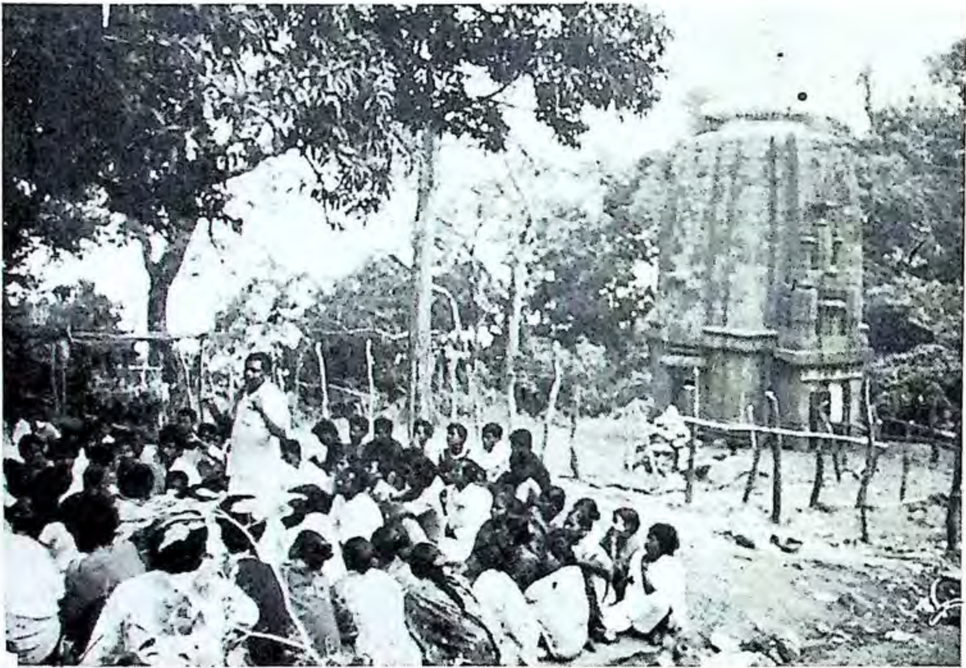
Yudhisthira Temple, Mahendragiri

Plate No.XLVII



Durgā - Mādhava Temple, Mahendragiri
(6th Century A.D.)

Plate No. XLVIII



Kunti Temple, Mahendra Giri

Plate No. XLIX



The Trinity (Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Purushottama, worshipped by savaras at Bhātrā sāhi at the foot of the Mahendra (Ganjam District)

Plate No. L



Mahendra Hills (Daru-Bramha)

Plate No. LI



A group of Temples of Nilamādhava at
Kantilo (9th Century A.D.)

Plate No. LII



Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple, Pāpaḍahāndi (Koraput District)

Plate No. LIII



Twin Hari-Hara Temple at Gandharādhi, Boudh

Plate No. LIV



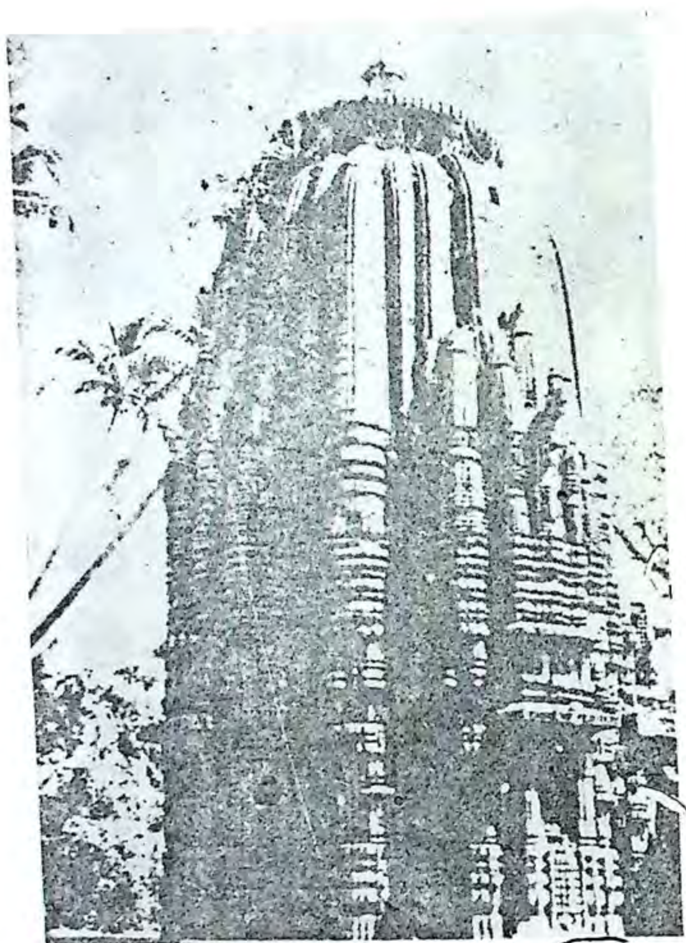
Mallikeśvara Temple, Jagamaṇḍā - Hill
(Koraput District)

Plate No. LV



Siva Temple, Baudh (Phulabani District)

Plate No. LVI



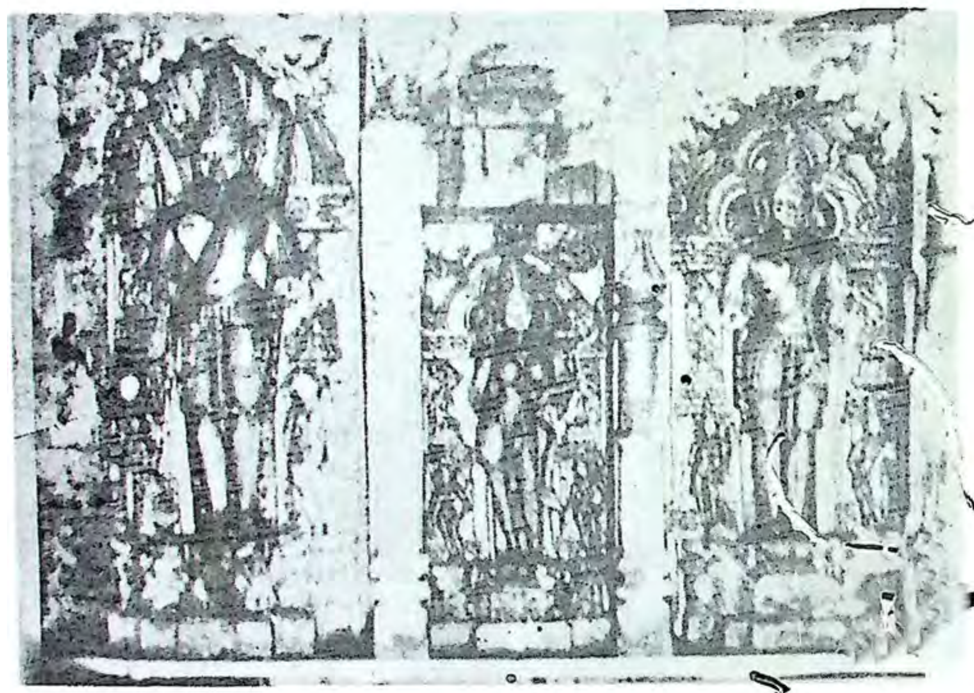
Khileśvara Temple, Khellore, Puri.

Plate No.LVII



The Image of Satyanārāyana in the
Jagannātha Temple Premises at South - East corner

Plate No. LVIII



Balabhadra Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa,
in the premises of Lingaraja Temple, Bhubaneswar
(13th Century A.D.)

Plate No. LIX



Viṣṇu Image, Cuttack

Plate No. LX



Nilamādhava Image, Puri Temple

Plate No. LXI



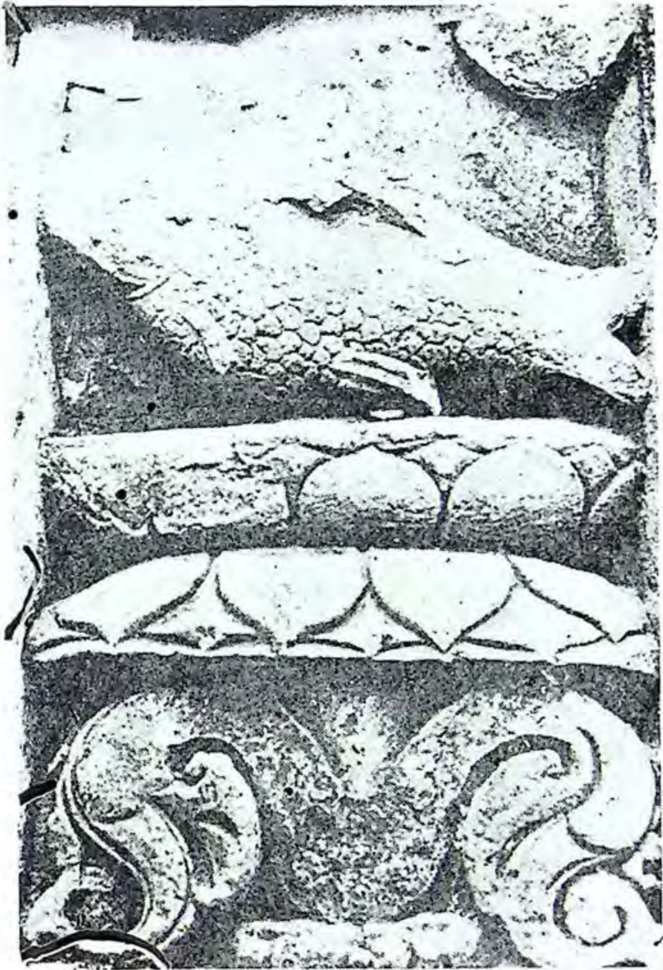
Nilamādhava Image,Gandharadi, Baudh

Plate No. LXII



Lalita Mádhava Image in Sovaneśvara Temple
(Puri District)

Plate No. LXIII



Matsya Avātara (First incarnation)
Manibhadreśvare Temple, Bhubaneswar

Plate No. LXIV



Viṣṇu Mudgala (Puri District)

Plate No. LXV



Images of Ananta and Vasudeva on the inner walls of Vindusagara Tank

-Plate No. LXVI



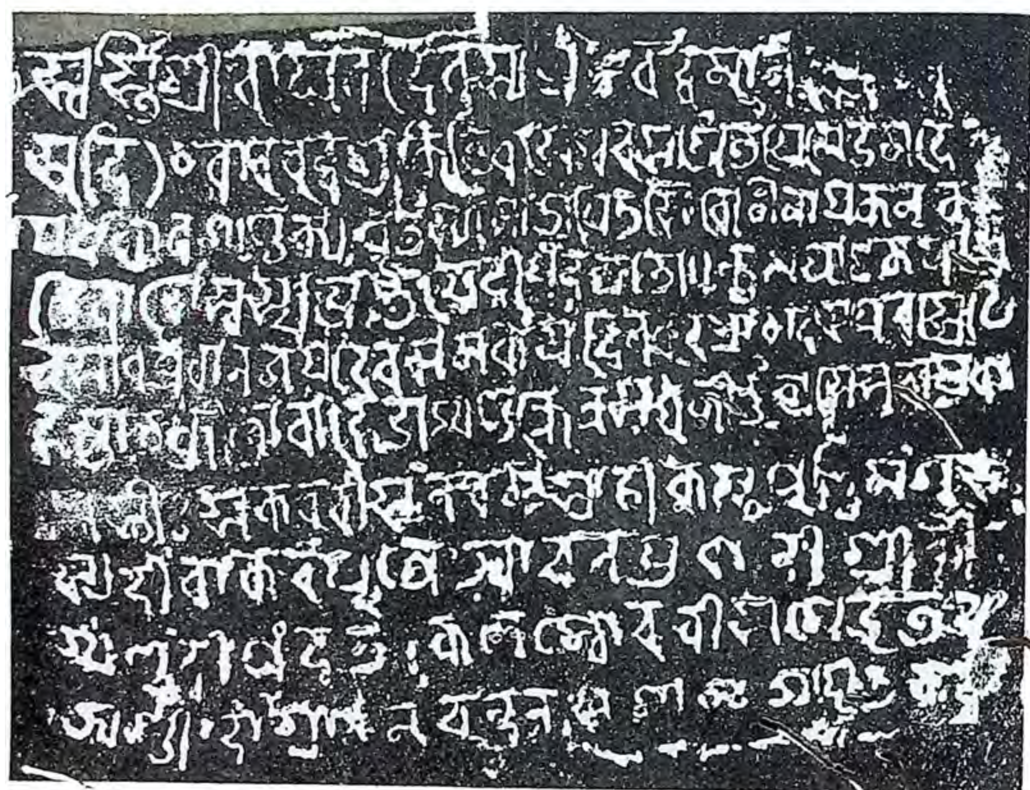
The Later Images of trinity in the premises of Lingaraja Temple, Eastern Gopura, Bhubaneswar
. (14th Century A.D.)

Plate No. LXVII



Krsna - Visnu Image of Orissa State Museum,
Bhubaneswar

Plate No. LXVIII



The Lingaraja Temple Inscription of the
Time of Sadhpradhana Jayadeva of Srikurma

Plate No. LXIX



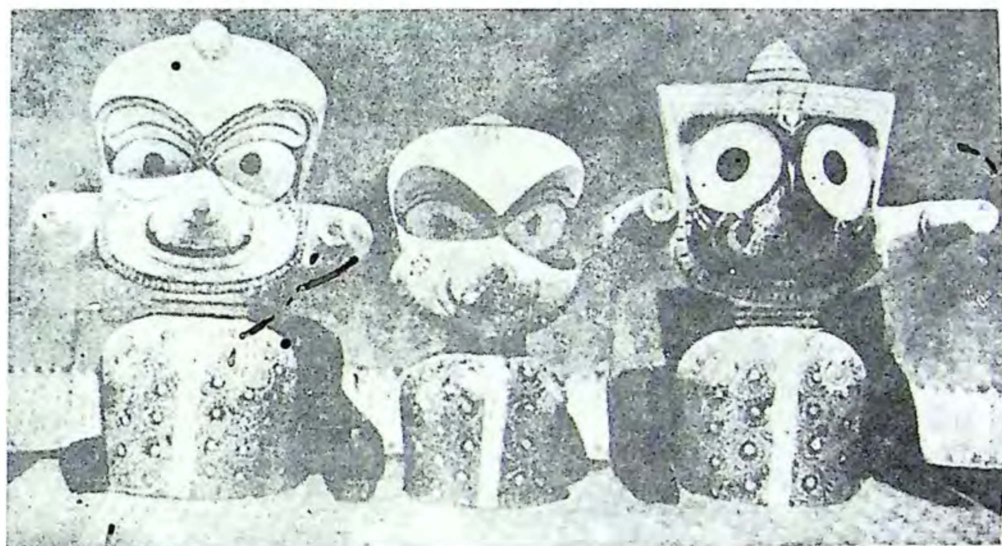
Relief from Konarka (1250 century A.D.) king Narasimha I worshipping a triad consisting (from the left) of Durgā, Purushottama - Jagannātha and a Sivaliṅgam. National Museum, Delhi

Plate No. LXX



Sri Jagannatha in Konarka Temple

Plate No. LXXI



The Latest Model of Balabhadra Subhadrã Jagannatha

Index

[(c) = Country; (d) = deity; (dt.) = district; (dy) = dynasty;
(k) = king; (r) = river; (t) = town]

C

E

F

Source: KC Dash, Digitized by PPRACHIN, SOA

Source: KC Dash, Digitized by PPRACHIN, SOA

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Y

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Dr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, was born in 1903 at Paralakhemundi (Orissa). He successfully completed the Indological course of Andhra University and received the title *Ubhaya Bhasa Pravina*. Thereafter he studied epigraphy and edited a large number of inscriptions which have been published in research journals of eminence. His first original paper was published in J.B.O.R.S., Patna, in 1927.

Gists of his original articles were published in the 'Bibliothica-Indica' by the Kern Institute of Holland. His contribution in the field of epigraphy has led to substantial revision of the history of Orissa. He worked as a Research Scholar in the Kalinga Historical Research Society and as an Epigraphist cum Curator of Orissa State Museum from 1947-1970 during which period he wrote The History of the Gangas (Two Vols.), Inscriptions of Orissa (Vols. I to V in eight parts) and The Invocatory Verses from Inscriptions (Vols. I & II). Besides, hundreds of articles of his have been published in various journals (English, Oriya, Hindi, Sanskrit and Telugu). His contribution was well recognised by the Government of India & he was awarded the title of 'Padmasri' in 1974. The Berhampur University also honoured him by awarding the D.Litt degree in 197[illegible] and nominating him as a life-member of the Senate. He wa[illegible] Visiting Professor of the Utkala University in 1982 for a short period. The 'Orissa History Congress' in its 1980 session recorded its great appreciation for Dr. Rajaguru and described him as a "source of perennial - inspiration and admiration to all."

His History of Orissa (Vol-I) in Oriya is the latest and most authentic work on the subject illustrating his scientific approach as a scholar. For his great contribution in the fields of Orissan History, epigraphy and Oriya linguistics 'Orissa Sahitya Akademi' specially honoured him on the occasion of its silver Jubilee. He has also edited jointly with Prof. Sarbeswar Das, a Historical drama entitled Chandrakala Natika by Vishvanath Kaviraja in Sanskrit. Besides he has written the following significant books in Oriya

(1) Orissara Sanskrutika Itihasa (Parts-I & IV),
(2) Naga Itihasa,
(3) Orissara Sankhipta Itihasa,
(4) Kalingara Atmakatha,
(5) Oriya Lipira Krama Vikasa,
(6) Oriya Upabhasha,
(7) Monorama Kavya,
(8) Radhabhisheka Natika,
(9) Gopabandhu Gadya Sahitya,
(10) Prasthava Chintamani (Edited),
(11) Karnata Kumari drama,
(12) Janani Utkala,
(13) Mo Atma Jivani etc.

Dr. Rajaguru, now nearly eighty nine years old, has completed this remarkable work shedding new light on the history of the famous temple of Lord Jagannath and is busy now with the second volume likely to come out soon under the patronage of Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Shrivihar, Puri.



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